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16 October 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

REPORTAGE ON ROME COURT, INTERROGATION OF CATLI

AU261200 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 25 Sep 85

[Text] Rome, September 25 (BTA corr) -- This afternoon Abdullah Catli was questioned by the counsels for the defence. Sergei Antonov's counsel for the defence - Guiseppe Consolo, asked Catli to explain whether during the telephone conversation on May 12, 1981 in which Agca had asked him if he may come to Vienna, he had informed him that he was in Rome and of what he was doing there. Asked by Guiseppe Consolo what explanation Celik had given to the fact that Agca had involved him in the assassination attempt, Catli answered: "He gave no explanation. He said that it was all lies." And he added: "He said that it was a plot."

Consolo: In what sense? Did he say that Agca's lies were a part of a plot?

Catli: Yes.

Lawyer Consolo once again returned to the proposals for bearing false witness which Celik and Catli were made by the West German secret services. Catli answered that they had been asked to confirm Agca's declarations and if possible to prove these declarations.

Asked by Judge Santiapichi why they had not accepted this proposal Catli answered: "Because we were faced by a powerful association and could not tell lies. Then he explained that he had in mind the secret services of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Catli also confirmed Agca's intention to attempt the assassination of the Soviet ambassador to Vienna.

Prosecutor Marini asked the leading question of whether Celik had had a plastic surgery, citing statement Catli had made.

Lawyer Consolo reacted sharply pointing out that this was an inadmissible procedural violation because the prosecutor was quoting personal talks with the witness beyond the framework of this trial.

The presiding judge considered the protest of the defence, but after a small pause he returned to the same question. Catli answered that Celik did not

have a plastic surgery made after the attempt against the Pope but before it and that it amounted to a minor surgical intervention. Catli repeated that Celik was not the man photographed running in St Peter's Square and identified him on his only photograph included in the documentation on the trial.

At today's hearing the court decided to include in the protocol of the case the letter written by Prof Boris Spasov, a Bulgarian MP and chairman of the National Committee in Defence of Sergei Antonov, to presiding Judge Santiapichi. The letter expresses concern over the interests of the defendant Bulgarians because of Prosecutor Marini's conducting of a parallel investigation and collecting information from witnesses outside the court room which in his capacity of a prosecutor at the trial he is using in support of the thesis of the prosecution. The letter also expresses concern over the leading questions put to Agca and the witnesses which is a violation of the constitutional rights of the citizens and of the criminal procedure code.

Tomorrow the trial will continue with another confrontation between Agca and Catli and then the latter will be returned to France.

CS0: 2200/5

BULGARIA

MOTHER AT WOMEN'S GROUP MEETING FOR ANTONOV

AU262036 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 26 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA) -- The Buro of the Bulgarian Women's Movement Committee had a meeting today with the mother of Sergey Antonov, Ivanka Antonova. In this time of worries over her son's fate she again felt the broad support of the Bulgarian and

Mrs Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the committee, stated that the Bulgarian Women's Movement, together with the Bulgarian public in general, is actively involved in the defense of Sergey Antonov and the other Bulgarian nationals who have been unjustly accused of complicity in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II.

Mrs Antonova's letter to Mrs Freda Brown, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation, has had a considerable effect. The federation has appealed to its 135 national organizations to hold actions in defence of the innocent Bulgarian national. It was announced today that this appeal has had a serious impact in many countries. The committee of the Soviet women has issued a declaration on this occasion. The endless flow of cables and letters from women's organizations and individuals demonstrates that more and more women in the world are joining in protest against the anti-Bulgarian and antisocialist campaign, directed at deteriorating the international situation.

"As a mother and a Bulgarian, I am deeply indignant about the political provocation against my country," stated Ivanka Antonova. "Sergey has become the victim of this provocation. The attempts to use false witnesses in support of Agca's slanderous statements are failing and the world can now see who is behind the fabricated version of the so-called "Bulgarian connection."

"The people who are really to blame must be punished in the name of justice. The solidarity expressed by honest people from all over the world strengthens my hopes that the instigators and organizers of this shameful trial will be exposed and that Sergey will be set free, that he will return in good health to join his family."

CS0: 2200/5

BULGARIA

ROLE, DUTIES OF INTERIOR MINISTRY REVIEWED

AU171028 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Sep 85 pp 1,3

[Article by Lieutenant General Kolyu Kolarov, deputy minister of the interior: "Protectors of Peaceful Labor" on the Occasion of "15 September, the Holiday of the Ministry of Interior Organs"]

[Text] Victorious 9 September was the most glorious event in the 13-centuries-old history of Bulgaria. On this remarkable date the people rose under the leadership of the BCP and, with the decisive assistance of the Soviet Army, overthrew the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and established a people's government.

The political power achieved by the working people had to be protected with manly courage and firm spirit. Following the example of the Soviet Union, immediately after the 9 September victory, the Fatherland Front government adopted at its first meeting its decision No 1, with which it entrusted the country's internal security to the People's Militia organs. On the instructions of the BCP, the combat ranks of the ministry of Interior Organs recruited courageous patriots directly from the partisan movement in which they had worked in the underground, as well as people released from prison and concentration camps, people who had given shelter to the partisans, communists and members of the Workers Youth Movement, and people who had passed through the fire of merciless class struggles. At the initiative of the BCP Central Committee, the Headquarters of the People's Militia was established in Sofia and worked under the direct leadership of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

By learning from and applying the great experience of the glorious Soviet Chekists, and with the close, daily assistance of the working people, the organs of the Ministry of Interior dealt a timely defeat to various counterrevolutionary gangs, spies, and diversionists. They put an end to the black market and the harmful activities of the Kulaks and opposition elements, and they waged a resolute struggle against criminality. As the people's government was consolidated, the organs of the Ministry of Interior, under the direct care of the BCP, developed and grew as the fighters of the "quiet front."

The historic April 1956 plenum of the BCP Central Committee restored the Leninist principles and norms of party life. A party strategy was mapped out for the development of our country's political, economic, ideological, social, and cultural life. The April plenum had a beneficial and constructive impact on the activities of the Ministry of Interior organs. The meaning and character of their functions and tasks were expanded and improved. The April party line is indissolubly linked to the personality and work of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, from the theoretical, political, and practical points of view. The employees of the Ministry of Interior express their deep gratitude for his contribution and for the personal credit he has earned, for the constant care and attention he devotes to the further consolidation and perfection of the Ministry of Interior organs' work.

In implementing the party's instructions the Ministry of Interior organs struggle daily and indefatigably for security and public order, the protection of our state borders, law and order, and the defense of socialist property against theft, waste, and fire; they struggle for an objective and just approach, high professional skill, and close relations with the working people, for morality and great cultural standards, an uncompromising attitude and the accurate implementation of the tasks entrusted to them by the party and government. The persevering and loyal efforts of many generations of Ministry of Interior employees, of members of the State Security and People's Militia Bodies, and members of the Border Guards and the Fire Department have been invested in the development of our socialist motherland under the influence of the April plenum.

In recent years our party has achieved tremendous political and organizational work in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference as regards the consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, in connection with all-round intensification. The decisions of the February plenum on applying the best scientific-technological achievements and the further development of the economic base of socialism are of particular importance in this context. This also applies to the tasks of perfecting the political system, as well as democracy, legality, and social administration in our country.

In building a mature, socialist society, real conditions have been created for reducing and limiting violations of the law, and ensuring the active participation of the public in asserting the socialist way of life. Among the main characteristics in the work of the Ministry of Interior organs are preventive-educational work, the timely discovery of the causes and conditions for the emergence of negative phenomena, the active struggle against crimes committed against the individual, and competent assistance to the workers collectives and economic managers for the protection of socialist property against waste, theft, and fire.

Today the overwhelming majority of Ministry of Interior employees are highly educated people, graduates of higher educational institutions or special schools, who use efficient modern technical equipment and arms. The Ministry of Interior Detachments are capable of combat, not only because of their knowledge and professional skill and their technical equipment, but also because of the experience accumulated by the many generations preceeding them: they are strong thanks to the wholehearted and loyal support of the broad people's masses and public organizations. This strength lies in the daily party leadership as well as in the great experience and example we are constantly obtaining from our senior brothers--the Soviet Chekists.

The party and the working people are coping with historic tasks for the construction of a mature socialist society in a complicated situation, which has been aggravated thanks to the most reactionary, imperialist forces. The policy of the U.S. imperialists on the nuclear arms race, transforming space into a firing ground of aggression, and the "Star Wars" program, represent a real threat to the hopes of mankind for a peaceful existence and the Helsinki agreements. With its militarist policy the imperialist circles, headed by the United States, are coordinating constant ideological diversion against the socialist countries, against peace and progress. Our country is also a target of this diversion. They are inventing all kinds of slanders against us. They slander us, accusing us of having organized an attempt to assassinate the pope, they accuse us of terrorism, of illegal arms and drugs traffic, and they are organizing propaganda campaigns.

The countries of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, are doing everything in their power to achieve the triumph of political common sense and good will in international relations. As Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, in his interview with TIME magazine, recently stressed: "The main question which we must answer is whether we are ready to admit in the long run, that there is no other way than to live in peace with each other, whether we are ready to reorganize our way of thinking and acting from war to peace?"

The enemy's tremendous efforts to achieve success in its subversive operations against the People's Republic of Bulgaria have encountered our people's firm resistance and strong moral-political unity. In implementing their patriotic duty the organs of the Ministry of Interior are unmasking the perfidious methods of the enemies timely and with increasing skill. The Ministry of Interior employees are well aware that the struggle against the ideological diversion of imperialism is a political matter above all things, and that they are political fighters of the party in the most crucial areas of class struggle. The organs of the Ministry of Interior can rely on the sociopolitical and mass organizations and the entire people, in defending the socialist achievements in our country.

On the occasion of their militant holiday, when we are assessing our part achievements, we once again express our ardent gratitude to the BCP Central Committee for the constant care it devotes to the consolidation and development of the Ministry of Interior organs. We express our sincere gratitude to the security organs of the Soviet Union. Their strong support and generous assistance, as well as their inexhaustible experience are the basic factors for the all-round perfection and improvement of our working efficiency.

United and strongly rallied around the Leninist April line of our BCP, the Ministry of Interior employees serve with loyalty and selfless devotion and they will be even more vigilant in protecting our socialist motherland, in worthily preparing for the 13th BCP Congress.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY HIGHLIGHTS REUNIFICATION CENTENARY

AU101148 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Sep 85 p 1

[Evastati Burnaski leading article on the dual centenaries of the reunification of Bulgaria and the Serbian-Bulgarian war: "A Holy and Nationwide Cause--an Immoral Page from History"]

[Text] There are historical injustices, the very intolerability of which spurs the people's hearts to acts of valor. There is a suppressed joy which becomes a revolutionary call and a feeling of romantic fatality in the name of a great and holy cause. In the final reckoning, there is the triumph of right over every wrong.

The ink had still not dried on the signatures of the high contracting parties in a certain small village, symbol of the great Bulgarian dawn, when on 13 June 1878 the Western powers convened the Congress of Berlin, which split Bulgaria into two halves. There is no injustice to compare with this! Never has the joy of a whole people been buried so quickly! No other political outrage against a people just liberated compares with the Congress of Berlin! The despair among our people at the great powers' decision was transformed into a nationwide revolt of the young fatherland! There is no other case in world history when the whole population of a country has pinned ribbons of a mourning to its lapels and silently sworn an oath that this wrong will be expunged by force of arms!

And so, as happens only in the world of fairytales, the two living parts of our native land--the Princedom of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia--at a single stroke join their two halves into one! The people's wrath sweeps away the vassal administration in Plovdiv, arrests its agents, and declares their great cause, called Union!

A people which numbers among its sons people like Petur Shilev and Prodan Tiskov, Alias Chardafon Veliki, and has daughters like Nedyalka Shileva, cannot acquiesce to any new modified form of slavery! The people have had a taste of freedom, even if only for a moment, and will not give it up without a fight!

No, 100 years after this feat, it is offensive even on paper to recall the treachery of a king who forced his people to march against their own brothers, who have still not recovered from the intoxication of a second national cause for joy. But wonders are twice as great when they are crowned with real meaning! Thin ranks of fighters of unrivalled bravery are posted on the endangered western borders. Every limestone rock near Slivnitsa and Gurgulyat, every small hollow near Dragoman and Breznik remind one of their steadfast defenders. The very legends bring them back to life. For them, "our brave captains and soldiers, the people has erected in its memory not a memorial, but a temple monument worthy of their feat of valor!" Indeed, in the conditions of the time, with the fighting equipment of that period, who could have withstood a force ten times larger?! What soldier could have marched more than 300 kilometers in only 70 hours and immediately thrown himself into the attack?! What giant would have dared, with a wet greatcoat and sodden leggings, to wipe away the tears of his motherland within only a few days?!

Dates and events will fade away. Time will set a limit on history's memory. But this feat will never be erased from our memory! It is ineffaceable! It is immortal, because the bitterness of an injustice was transformed into the birth of a great exploit--the exploit of a whole people! Whatever commentaries the pages of the chronicles may give, whatever reasons the politicians and general staff officers of our enemies of that time may put forward, their defeat will remain merely an example of an extreme injustice brought to its knees by the spirit and arms of the Bulgarian! This Bulgarian, who has lived through an age-long political night and has with effort covered the distance from the tragic passing away of Shishmanov to the epic Shipka peak, does not feel hatred towards his neighbors. He is happy that he is living in peace and goodwill with their peoples, and will be even more happy if no one attempts to test by arms his mildness and patience, because the great act of Union and its brave defence are recorded for ever by the whole people on one of the most glorious pages of Bulgaria's short history!

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

CENTENARY OF SERBIAN-BULGARIAN WAR DISCUSSED

AU191307 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Sep 85 p 3

[Simeon Dochev article on historical letters of Ivan Stepanovich Ivanov published in Autumn 1885 in ODESSKIY VESTNIK: "Centenary of Union of Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia--With Firm Confidence in our Right"]

[Excerpts] The autumn of 1885 is memorable for our people as the time of the realization of the Union of Bulgaria. In those stormy and glorious days all children of the people, united under the banner of the common cause, offered their help each according to his capacities... one by shedding his blood, another by his words. [Passage omitted giving biography of expatriate Bulgarian I.S. Ivanov and his activities in period before the reunification of Bulgaria.]

Ivan S. Ivanov, already 55 years old, could not take part in the defense of the Union with rifle in hand, but this hand could hold a pen, which also has merit. During October and November, in ODESSKIY VESTNIK, Russia's largest provincial newspaper of the time, 12 letters from his appeared which were later published in a separate pamphlet under the title "Serbia and Bulgaria from the date of the Eastern Rumelia insurrection of 6 September 1885". In the following year the pamphlet was published in M. Moskov's Bulgarian translation by P. Khadzhipanayotov's printinghouse in Turnovo.

As an expert in Bulgarian-Serbian relations, he does not blame the Serbian people, but their political leaders. "A rift has been driven between Bulgaria and Serbia by the Serbian politicians, cutting our ties of mutual kinship," he writes in his letter of 20 October.

In looking for the causes of this war, he realizes that it is not solely "Serbian political circles", but primarily the great powers who are responsible: "If Austria-Hungary acted sincerely in the matter of bringing peace to the Balkan peninsula, then it can be said that King Milan would not now be playing the part of the brave commander in chief of the Serbian army at Nic, but would have been devoting himself until this very moment to his favorite pastimes somewhere in Vienna or some other town in Austria-Hungary..."

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

EDITORIAL ON REUNIFICATION CENTENNIAL

AU230852 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Sep 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Sacred People's Cause"]

[Text] History, that wise teacher of nations, has marked an event which is close to the heart of our socialist motherland--the centennial of the reunification of the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia. The reunification was a remarkable event of greatest national, political, and social significance, it was one of the most memorable high points in the glorious annals of our state, which is 1,300 years old. Dimitur Blagoev, the patriarch of socialism in our country, wrote on this occasion: "The reunification of Southern and Northern Bulgaria marks the beginning of a new period in the development of the Bulgarian people."

Embodying all the spiritual force of the insurrection and the revolutionary aspirations of the April epopee, the reunification became a sacred cause for all our people. This revolutionary act was of a nationwide character.

Our people displayed unprecedented and unheard of daring--they provoked the great powers, standing behind the Berlin Treaty, which was notorious as the "monument of selfishness and the work of envy". The unjust stipulations of this treaty deeply affected the Bulgarian people who were still delirious with joy at their newly acquired freedom, a freedom presented to our people by the swords of the Russian heroes, a freedom which finally rejected the darkness of 5 centuries of oppression. Bitterness, dissatisfaction, and sincere wrath arose in the hearts of our ancestors, because instead of a united Bulgarian state, our motherland was split--north of the Balkan mountains the small Principality of Bulgaria was established, while in the south an autonomous area with the imposed name of Eastern Rumelia was created. The Bulgarians in Macedonia and in the Odrin area were left under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. This is how, as early as in Summer 1878, the forces of our nation united in the spirit of the ideal of national unity, for the sake of the success of Bulgarian national revolution.

Where did this unshakable conviction come from? It was the conviction that the "Plovdiv revolution" will be victorious despite the obstacles of the Berlin Treaty and the confusion of diplomatic involvements. Where was the source of this inexhaustible popular energy? Where did this nationwide confidence that better and happier days were awaiting our motherland come from? There is one answer to all this--from the sources of the inexhaustible historical optimism--a characteristic trait of our people, which, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has said, determines the specific national features of our people and explains all their development.

The reunification movement represents an integral part of our national liberation struggle. It burned with the fire of the April bloodshed, lived with the secret, conspiratorial spirit in which Vasil Levski's legacy was embodied and the revolutionary appeals to the reunification movements recall the words of Botev's poems. The veterans who survived the battles of Shipka and Sheynovo again marched along the well-trodden paths of the former Khayduks [revolutionary fighters of the insurrection against the Turks]. The program of the Committee, which was founded at the beginning of 1885, which was the central leading body of the reunification, and headed by Zakhari Stoyanov, the former insurrection leader, stated: "The Bulgarian secret, central, revolutionary committee pursues the goal of the Bulgarian people's final liberation through a moral and armed revolution."

After 7 years of intense struggle the artificial division of the Bulgarians on both sides of the Balkans was relegated to the past. The reunification became a nationwide festivity. On 6 September 1885 the people's veterans marched in the streets of Plovdiv, welcomed by the enthusiastic majority of the people, the bells were ringing and former Eastern Rumelia was declared part of the Bulgarian state in the hope that "enlightened Europe will recognize our sacred national cause." The unrelenting struggle for the defense of reunification began as of this hour.

History, however, decided that the fate of reunification was not to be resolved at the table of diplomatic negotiations, but on the battlefield. The same forces that stood behind the unjust Berlin Treaty incited the Serbian monarchy to a military adventure. On 2 November 1885, on the pretext that it could "no longer witness with indifference a shift in the balance of power among the peoples on the Balkan peninsula," Serbia declared war on the recently liberated Bulgarian state. Dimitur Blagoev wrote that the perfidious aggression carried out by King Milan, "provoked an upsurge of our national energies to the highest level. Everyone who was capable of carrying weapons rushed to join the battle flag of reunification and the struggle for the integrity of our fatherland."

King Milan's invaders, who came to the battle of Slivnitsa with illusions about a quick and easy victory, were defeated in this historic battle, in which the Bulgarian soldiers showed miracles of

courage and our young army leaders showed their superior strategic skill. The Bulgarians "won the respect and admiration of Europe" as the great Engel wrote at the time, and the victory of our young army in this completely unjustified war of people's defense, largely decided the fate of our reunification.

The BCP took over the flag of the centuries-old, democratic, progressive, and revolutionary traditions, it transferred the ideals of our ancestors and predecessors to the basis of scientific socialism. Every step forward accomplished by April Bulgaria along the path of socialism and communism, today, is strengthening the moral-political unity of our people and enhancing their national consciousness and self-confidence.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed in his remarkable "Speech About Bulgaria": "We are expanding the unforgettable pages of history, so that we may penetrate more deeply our national destiny and see the future with greater clarity, so that we may elevate our hearts and equip our minds with the aspirations, the virtues, and traditions that have inspired our predecessors with strength, which are passing this strength over to us and to our children, and grandchildren so that they may advance along the path of progress."

All this applies to the present, when our people are celebrating the centennial of the reunification. This celebration is becoming a powerful incentive for the patriotic and international education of the people, especially of the soldiers and the young people, it contributes to the mobilization of the talents and creative energies of the Bulgarian people, to the creation of new material and cultural values, to the enhancement of the prestige of our socialist motherland, to the worthy preparation of the forthcoming 13th BCP Congress.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

DZHUROV'S ORDER OF DAY ON BULGARIAN ARMY DAY

AU251057 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Sep 85 p 1

["Order of the Day of the Minister of National Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" from "Army General Dzhurov"]

[Text] Comrade officers, generals, and admirals,

Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers,

Comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and staff in military enterprises and institutions, and members of the reserve forces,

Today the Bulgarian people and its armed defenders festively celebrate Bulgarian People's Army Day.

The workers and soldiers in our native land mark this glorious holiday under the conditions of a universal political and labor upsurge to meet the 13th Congress of the BCP in a worthy manner.

Closely united around the BCP Central Committee, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the servicemen of the Bulgarian People's Army unanimously approve and unreservedly support the internal and foreign policies of the BCP and the national government, and stand steadfastly on faithful guard of the peaceful creative labor of our industrious people.

Together with the working people, the soldiers of the People's Army display creative revolutionary thinking and boldly dedicate their strength and talent to fulfilling the decisions of the February plenum of the BCP Central Committee for implementation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and raising the economic and defensive might of our native land and the forces' fighting readiness to a qualitatively higher level. The workers, technicians, engineers and soldiers of the military enterprises and the construction units are meeting Bulgarian People's Army Day with high working successes.

The fighting soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army recognize the real danger to peace and the fate of the world arising from the tense international situation, which is deteriorating still further due to the

fault of the U.S. and NATO imperialists, and perform their military duty with honor, continuously increasing their vigilance and fighting skill. The soldiers of our People's Army are always ready in united battle formation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member countries, led by the invincible Soviet Army, to fulfill their patriotic and international duty in the defence of our native land and the cause of socialism.

Comrade fighting soldiers and commanders,

Workers and staff,

Members of the reserve forces,

I congratulate you most cordially on the occasion of Bulgarian People's Army Day. I wish you and your families good health, personal happiness and new, still greater successes in your fighting and political training, in mastering weapons and fighting equipment, in strengthening discipline, and in raising your vigilance and fighting readiness to a qualitatively higher level.

To celebrate Bulgarian People's Army Day

I Order

That on 23 September 1985 festive illuminations should be arranged in our country's capital Sofia and in the towns of Plovdiv, Sliven, and Varna, and that official evening parades should be held in the units.

Long live the Bulgarian People's Army -- faithful guard of our socialist native land!

May friendship and unity long continue and strengthen between the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact, led by the invincible Soviet Army!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party -- the organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Long live our beloved native land -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

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BULGARIA

OTECHESTVEN FRONT ON BALKAN COUNTRIES

AU261044 Sofia BTA in English 1243 GMT 25 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, 25 September (BTA) -- The 'OTECHESTVEN FRONT' "International Wednesday" column is devoted to the problems of the Balkan countries, to their political and economic situation, their cultural cooperation in the name of security and peace on the planet. No one has been left out, every country is mentioned for its successes in a certain field or for difficulties experienced. The paper notes that the politics of some of the Balkan states do not always contribute to the consolidation of the mutual understanding.

The upward trend in the development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations has been illustrated against the background of a get-together in the border Bulgarian village of Kulata. The meeting was attended by the head of the Greek border point and by some of his officers. He stated that there are no problems with the Bulgarian tourists and with his Bulgarian counterparts. The paper also notes that Greece has activated its business cooperation with the USSR. and that the Greek exports for the Soviet Union will increase by 70 per cent this year. At the same time the paper mentions the rather strange ways in which some American soldiers entertain themselves in Greece. Some of their favorite pastimes seem to be shootings and robberies. As far as American servicemen are concerned, their deportment in Turkey is in no way different, "OTECHESTVEN FRONT" writes that some of them have been smuggling items of archaeological and historic value.

The paper has something else to say about Turkey: The Common Market's protectionist policy has had an adverse effect upon the country's economy and has deteriorated its export potential. The educational system is in a deep crisis as a result of the sharp rise of the fees for all institutions on higher education. The comment analyses the official circles' approach to the "left" and the "right" in the country. What is particularly striking is the fact that the military courts have from 1980 to this day sentenced to death 449 people, 400 of whom are leftists and that so far 20 left wingers have been executed against only 7 rightist terrorists. All 656 people belonging to the ultra right profascist party of the Nationalist Movement, who have been brought before the court, have now been released. It is well known that this party has organized riots, street incidents, assassinations and armed robberies by making use of its offshoot the "Grey wolves."

"OTECHESTVEN FRONT" analyses the situation in Cyprus. It emphasises that the progressive and democratic forces on the island are struggling for the overcoming of the artificially kindled animosities, and are devoting their efforts to the reunification of their country, to the solving of the problems by taking into consideration the legitimate interests of the two communities. Turkey and the U.S. are aiming at preserving the division of Cyprus and at turning it into a military bridgehead in the eastern Mediterranean.

The paper comments upon the development of Albania, the past and the present Soviet-Albanian contacts. The daily emphasises upon the fact that the Soviet Union nourishes friendly feelings for the Albanian people and that the Soviet Union values highly Albania's contribution to the struggle against fascism and the construction of socialism.

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BULGARIA

DZHUROV HONORS HIGHER MILITARY MEDICAL INSTITUTE

AU271245 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Sep 85 p 1,3

[Captain Evgeni Genov report: "Well-deserved Recognition of Dedicated Labor -- Army General Dobri Dzhurov, Minister of National Defense, Awards the 'People's Republic of Bulgaria' Order, First Class, to the Higher Military Medical Institute"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the glorious jubilee -- 25 years from the foundation of the Higher Military Medical Institute [HMMI], a festive meeting took place yesterday in the hall of the institute. Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, Colonel General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, deputy ministers of national defence, generals, and officers came here to share the joy of the military men of medicine.

Also present was Colonel General Aleksandr Zvertsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states attached to the Bulgarian People's Army.

Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, many citizens, scientific workers, and doctors also attended.

After this, many congratulations and bouquets were presented on behalf of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee, the Ministry of Public Health, the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, the "Tm Kirov" Military Medical Academy in the USSR, the Central Military Hospital in the Hungarian People's Republic, the Military Medical Academy in the GDR, the Military Medical Academy in the PPR, and allied military medical institutes in the CSSR, Cuba, and elsewhere.

Lieutenant General Tsanyo Bakalov read out the decree of the State Committee of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to award to the HMMI the "People's Republic of Bulgaria" Order, first class. To a storm of applause from those present in the hall, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, pinned the order to the institute's banner.

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BULGARIA

YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES REPORTED

AU261250 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 85 p 8

[Text] Belgrade, 24 September: BTA correspondent Sv Stanchev -- The decision of the SFRY Federative Council to increase turnover taxes for several varieties of goods is resulting in a new, official increase of retail prices.

The tax on cigars, concentrated alcohol, soft drinks, private automobiles, cosmetics, leather goods, gold and other valuable metals, motors, expensive watches, crystal, and coffee has been increased. This decision was adopted because of the need to increase state budget revenues by 80.7 billion dinars, 18.2 billion of which will be ensured by the present turnover tax increases. Over 80 percent of the new state budget revenues will be used for the needs of the Yugoslav People's Army.

According to the socioeconomic development plan of Yugoslavia, the tax increase was envisaged to put an end to the further deterioration of the population's living standard this year. The document even provided for an 1.1 percent increase of real incomes. According to experts, however, these incomes will once more be reduced by approximately 5 percent. (The real incomes of the population in Yugoslavia have been dropping by an average of 5.5 percent since 1979.)

As the weekly KOMUNIST recently recalled, the government, in adopting the 1985 plan, has ascertained that the "living standard has reached a limit that can barely be sustained." In addition to this, inflation at that time was 60 percent, while prices for agricultural products and foodstuffs had increased by "only" 40 percent. According to official statistical prognoses, retail prices will increase by 75 percent throughout 1985.

It is true that not all goods increasing in price are real necessities. Some of them are even meant for consumers with higher incomes; however, they are added to the constant increase of prices which has been going on throughout the year and which does not exclude foodstuffs, clothing, heating, and public services.

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ARAB PEASANT UNION DELEGATION VISIT ENDS

AU261955 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Sep 85

[Text] At the invitation of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], a delegation of the All-Arab Peasant Union led by the general secretary of the union 'Abd al-Rakhman Al-Tukabri, visited Bulgaria. The delegation had talks with a BZNS delegation led by Petur Tanchev. During the talks determination was expressed to further strengthen and expand the traditionally friendly relations between the BZNS and the All-Arab Peasant Union, which contribute to strengthening relations between Bulgaria and the Arab countries.

The delegations stressed the exceptionally great importance of the meetings and talks of Comrade Todor Zhivkov with the first leaders of the Arab countries for expanding Bulgaria's cooperation with the Arab countries.

The guests were briefed on our country's achievements and on BZNS' contribution to the construction of socialism, especially in agriculture.

On the part of the All-Arab Peasant Union, deep gratitude was expressed to Bulgaria and the BZNS for their consistent support of the Arab people's national liberation struggle. The great significance of developing relations with Bulgaria and the BZNS was pointed out. The great contribution of our country's peaceful policy and of State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov's efforts to establish a climate of understanding and good-neighborliness in the Balkans and for implementing the idea of turning the Balcan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, was highly evaluated.

The present visit of the delegation of the All-Arab Peasant Union in Bulgaria, which took place in the traditional atmosphere of friendship and unity of thought, is an important factor in developing relations between the two organizations and reveals new prospects of their expansion and strengthening in the interest of Bulgarian-Arab cooperation and the cause of peace and international understanding.

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GOVERNMENT DECLARATION ON SOUTH AFRICAN ANGOLA ACTION

AU251849 Sofia BTA in English 1750 GMT 25 Sep 85

["Declaration of the Bulgarian Government" --BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA) -- The People's Republic of Angola has again been the victim of the South African racist regime's actions, reads a declaration of the Bulgarian Government, announced today. South African troops have infiltrated 200 kilometers deep into the territory of this sovereign African state under the pretext of following SWAPO guerrillas. However, facts undeniably indicate that their targets are actually the Angolan Armed Forces who are at present engaged in successful military operations aimed at destroying one of the most important bases of the UNITA counterrevolutionary group in Southern Angola.

The world has witnessed a new criminal act of South African military adventurism, a drastic and direct violation of Angola's sovereignty and territorial unity, a gross violation of the basic norms of international law, reads the declaration. Everyone is aware that the racists of Pretoria, who are encouraged and supported by their Western guardians and by the U.S. in particular, are trying to save the armed gangs of their puppet organization UNITA. This organization has been used by them in their unproclaimed war against Angola, directed at destabilizing the situation in that country with an ultimate aim of destroying the country's progressive regime.

The South African Regime has embarked upon the road of aggression in its attempts to find a solution to its constantly deteriorating internal crisis, [word indistinct] of the growth of the resistance against apartheid and the struggle of the Namibian people for true independence and freedom.

This criminal act carried out by the South African military is a further proof of the aggressive nature of the racist regime in Pretoria and its apartheid policy, states the declaration.

The Bulgarian Government condemns the new aggressive act of the Republic of South Africa and demands an immediate withdrawal of all South African troops from Angolan territory, a complete termination of all aggressive actions against Angola. It demands the Security Council of the U.N. to adopt comprehensive and obligatory sanctions against the Government of the Republic of South Africa in concord with the U.N. Charter.

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BULGARIA

UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF MEDICAL SERVICES DISCUSSED

Physician on Professional Difficulties

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 9 Aug 85 pp 1, 5

[Interview conducted by Emi Barukh]

[Text] Corresponding Member Prof Chavdar Dragoychev was born in 1925. He left for the Soviet Union in 1930. Back in Bulgaria, he enrolled in medical school and subsequently continued his studies in Moscow, where he defended his first monograph on cardiac surgery in the Soviet Union in 1955. The following year Chavdar Dragoychev returned to Bulgaria and started work at ISUL [Institute for the Advancement of Physicians]. Presently Professor Dragoychev is head of the chair of cardiovascular surgery at the Scientific Research Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases of the Medical Academy and is the institute's director.

[Question] Professor Dragoychev, Bulgarian medical science has always had the ambition to compete with the highest global achievements. The second of the two registered discoveries in our country was made by a physician: the sixth tone of the heart....

[Answer] The authors of the next Bulgarian discovery were also physicians, colleagues working in our institute: Professor Doychinov and Dr Vera Buchvarova. They were the first to detect in children a disease which was considered thus far to afflict only adults.

[Question] This is one more reason for me to ask: What hinders the development of more and more noted scientific schools in our country despite the great scientific potential of the Medical Academy? How is continuity in medicine achieved?

[Answer] This is a very serious question and, in my view, it reveals insufficient scientific epics in our country. A scientist who comes to take over from his predecessor frequently tries to claim that he has originated everything instead of describing to his young colleagues the accomplishments of his predecessors....

We put the emphasis on ourselves. It is this that destroys scientific tradition and without scientific tradition there is no scientific respect. Science becomes not a profoundly continuous project of a large collective but the personal project of one individual or another--capable or incapable--but still a single individual.

Today's young people are unquestionably more pragmatic compared to the romantic generation of Marie Curie, for example, who could work without pay in an adapted barn on a problem of interest to her. Unfortunately, such scientists are encountered ever more infrequently. However...should we accuse the young people? Who can afford today a private laboratory? Neither funds nor possibilities to this effect exist and scientific research has become so collectivized that the space given the individual, regardless of how outstanding he may be, is sometimes quite narrow. The individual must restructure his thinking and way of work. He must be able to take into consideration the collective so that his work will not be obstructed. Nevertheless, despite all this it is precisely in medicine that we still find a great influx of volunteers.

[Question] Statistical figures for the past 5 years indicate differently. Last year, for the first time (!) there were vacancies for male candidates. Should we tolerate the fact that tomorrow we may be treated by yesterday's poor student?

[Answer] Let me answer you frankly. I am astonished that for such a long time our young people stubbornly tried to master the profession of physician, for in our country the pay of a physician is low. Material rewards are not consistent with the effectiveness of the efforts invested and the professional standard of the physician. Total equalization exists, regardless of whether the physician is good or average. Of late, efforts have been made at the Medical Academy to promote some supplements which would provide material incentive. All of this, however, is insufficient. And since the work is hard, for it demands the steady refreshment of knowledge, contemporary young people have begun to realize that this "does not pay." The efforts they expend not only in training but in ongoing work are not being rewarded. I believe that unless we find a way, through some kind of economic mechanism, for medicine to be given more funds, that is first, and for the work of every physician to be assessed individually, secondly, this profession may become depersonalized and the influx of intelligent, enterprising and caring people may dry up. This particularly applies to the difficult and stressed branches of medicine.

[Question] The general practitioner, as you have said in your reports, is precisely the man at the "leading edge" of medicine. However, he has been unable to take the place of the family doctor. Could we ever again choose our physician?

[Answer] This is one of the contradictions in contemporary medicine. It is true that, ideally, every patient, who can select his own tailor or barber, should select the physician to whom he entrusts what is more valuable--his life. However, this entails a great deal of social difficulty.... If you come to see us during the day when people can select their physician, you will

immediately see who is if not the best at least the most popular physician; who is the one for whom huge lines of people are waiting, absolutely insisting to be examined by that physician.

[Question] However, this free consultation does not mean in itself that one could choose one's physician. Furthermore, this method is hardly an example of the best organization of the time of highly skilled specialists.

[Answer] Yes, this is true. A specialist may see patients who should not have come to him. He could have used his limited time to treat someone who truly has needs in his area of competence. However, I do not see how to resolve this contradiction. Do we screen the patients? Should patients be examined first by other colleagues? I have refused to do this categorically, for occasionally this eliminates exceptionally complex cases which I would like to examine and treat personally.

[Question] Does this mean that anyone could come to be examined by you?

[Answer] It does, although some kind of legend exists. I have been told by patients that I cannot be reached. I have asked why? Register for the free reception day. I have never refused to see anyone, absolutely. Furthermore, after my 16 registered patients have been examined, I always examine another seven or eight patients who have walked in. I cannot imagine how a physician can refuse to examine a patient regardless of how tired he may be.... However, this is not an ideal solution. Why? Because, let us say, I have examined the patient. I then begin to think about who could provide the steady treatment? I cannot do this. The patient may have come from Silistra or Vidin. Sometimes a treatment may be prescribed and sometimes it cannot. Take the example of hypertonia: in order to provide a proper treatment the patient's arterial pressure should be measured one week later, to see the effect of the treatment, eliminate some medicines and prescribe others. Obviously, this should be done by the same physician. It turns out, however, that this is not always possible.... In the provinces cardiologists are sometimes changed every month, alternating their work in the polyclinic and the hospital. In many places no cardiologists exist.... What to do? I don't know!

[Question] You are a physician, a scientist and an administrator. Who hinders whom more?

[Answer] Unquestionably, administrative work is my greatest hindrance. In this area we are far behind Europe and America. This should be written about! However, regardless of how much we write about it, it cannot be corrected as long as our higher economic schools have not begun to train so-called managers. In connection with the building of our institute, years ago, we visited the new university clinic in Bonn. We were received by the hospital director who is not a physician but an economist, perfectly familiar with the problems of medicine. He does not know how to treat cancer or cardiac disease but knows what this treatment requires. Therefore, this would prevent me from going to him and telling him that I need to have bird's milk. He would answer me: No, colleague, you do not need this. At the same time, he would understand should I warn him that unless he supplies me with this and such I

would no longer operate. That way professors, physicians and scientists are entirely free of extraneous activities. This applies to all sectors.

[Question] We started talking about the organization of medical work. In your view, how can the necessary funds be procured for the hospitals?

[Answer] This is an exceptionally important problem. Why is it that in the FRG or in France the physician is better equipped than here? Because it turns out that with central budget financing there are not enough funds. Yet patients come to me and say, I am ready to sell my house, my cottage, my car, just heal me! In other words, the people have money but cannot invest them... Should we make them pay on a private basis? This will not do. This problem is being extensively discussed in our medical circles. The outcome may be the creation of something like medical insurance organizations but under socialist conditions. What does this imply?

Today state budget funds are allocated by the Ministry of Public Health and the Medical Academy. Considering their level of information and efficiency, it is very difficult to allocate the various health institutions funds based on their real needs. The independent activities of the okrugs are encouraged in helping the state budget. Some okrug hospitals have modern equipment better than that of central institutes, although the most severely ill patients, nevertheless, are treated by those same central institutes. The Medical Academy itself is also making great efforts to procure additional funds. In my view, however, this does not resolve basic problems. There is no feedback and, consequently, as the cybernetists say, the system does not function properly. If one hospital has two surgeries and another 22 in one month do both of them need the same amount of money? Naturally, no. It is precisely the creation of medical insurance systems which will make it possible to keep accounts and make strict payments for all medical services and for all patients. After the treatment is completed, I will sign the bill: so much for medicines, so much for the work of the physicians, nurses and medics, so much for blood, the operation, the valve.... The bill will go to the enterprise's cashier who will refund this money. If I have an instrument which costs 1 million foreign exchange leva and I know that it could work for 10 years at a certain load, I could estimate the cost of a test with this instrument and cover my expenditures for the purchase of the expensive equipment.

Naturally, such insurance banks should have the full right to supervise the conscientiousness of those who sign such bills and demand merciless punishment for any abuse.

[Question] What would be the source of such funds for the enterprise?

[Answer] Funds per worker as a trade union fee could be withheld from the enterprise's income. Such funds will be absolutely public and everyone will know that it has, shall we say, 300,000 leva. At the end of the year it will be determined that 20 leva have been spent on Comrade Marinova and 5,000 on Comrade Ivanov. Today, if X or Y has worked unprofitably, the losses... covered. No one mentions it but it remains a factor. The assets of such funds, however, would not be used for anything else! They would be used

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exclusively for treatment. In this manner, the central budget would be concerned with capital construction only, with training cadres and scientific work. Current expenditures would be covered by this fund. Let the financiers tell us whether this is utopia or a serious suggestion.

You know that before September 1944 and for several years after that each hospital had a so-called golden book. Every citizen could make a voluntary contribution instead of giving the physician a bottle of brandy or a box of candy. Such funds were never spent on banquets or parties. They were used to send physicians to specialize, to purchase books for the library, etc. To a certain extent, medicine was self-supporting. It is a highly moral profession and the money it received was highly moral as well. This is no mercantilism. At this point now we are speaking about contributions. Do you think that people would not be ready to contribute voluntarily to the hospital for the efforts of the physician who treated them?

[Question] In your view, what should we, journalists, do to change the social rating of medical work?

[Answer] In itself, the profession is quite prestigious. If the prestige declines or, rather, if its attractiveness declines, the reason is insufficient material rewards. Our people are materialistic. They may acknowledge the fact that the medical profession is sacred. However, realizing that an engineer is being paid a higher wage, the people would say yes, I may honor you, but I will nevertheless become an engineer.... Furthermore, we are excited about soccer and mountain climbing, yet the peaks of the medical profession, which are also very difficult to climb, are ignored. In the USSR, for example, all of my colleagues--cardiac surgeons with whom we have worked--have become laureates either of the Lenin or the State Prize. Each stage in the application of surgery has been noted. Three people became laureates for artificial blood circulation; four for artificial heart valves; three for treating small children with congenital defects; and so on. In other words, in that country every step in medicine which leads the country to a place among leading world accomplishments or which outstrips the leading countries, such as hyperbaric therapy, is immediately appreciated and recognized. Unfortunately, this is not the case in our country.... Thank God, there still are sufficient young idealists who are dedicating themselves to this noble profession. Could journalists help "us"? I do not know.... Try...try....

Ministry Collegium Meets

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 Aug 85 p 1

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Collegium of the Ministry of Public Health was held at the Center for Hygiene and Vocational Diseases, on 2 August. The style and methods of work in health care were discussed and steps to improve them were taken. Participating in the work of the collegium were Minister of Public Health Academician Radoy Popivanov, Senior Scientific Associate Dr Ivan Sechanov, chairman of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee, deputy ministers of public health, members of the Medical Academy Presidium, chief

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republic specialists, directors of the DNZSG [Directorate of Public Health and Social Welfare] and the KhEI [Hygiene-Epidemiological Institute] and others.

The meeting was chaired by Corresponding Member Prof Lyubomir Shindarov, first deputy minister of public health.

Academician Radoy Popivanov spoke on "On Further Improving the Style and Methods of Our Work" [published separately].

In his statement, Dr Ivan Sechanov discussed the great role of the trade union bodies and organizations in improving the workstyle and methods. He emphasized the need to improve health care management, socialist competition and trade union activities in labor collectives.

Prof Petur Dobrev, first secretary of the party committee at the Medical Academy, discussed the specific tasks of health care and medicine in developing an efficient work style and a new way of thinking and acting. He stressed the need to upgrade the individual responsibility of health leaders and to improve the quality of diagnostic-treatment, teaching and scientific activities of the Medical Academy and enhance the level of control and discipline.

Statements were made by Dr Marin Peychev, director of the DNZSG in Silistra, Dr Dimitur Chestimenov, director of the DNZSG in Khaskovo, Dr Nikola Tsvetkov, director of the DNZSG in Stara Zagora and Dr Lyubomir Kumanov, director of the KhEI in Sofia. They expressed their full support of the stipulations included in the report and submitted their suggestions concerning the measures under discussion.

In his concluding speech, Academician Radoy Popivanov emphasized the need for full mobilization of the efforts to achieve an upturn in the workstyle and methods and develop a high feeling of responsibility in every health worker in resolving the strategic problems of socialist health care.

Health Minister Popivanov Speech

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 Aug 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] Comrades:

The purpose of this meeting is to assess the style and methods of work of the leading units in health care in the light of the report note of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the BCP Central Committee Politburo and to take the necessary steps to enhance our activities to a qualitatively higher standard, which would enable us not only to fulfill the five-year plan but to achieve the necessary efficiency in developing the health care system of the mature socialist society. We see, once again, in the report note a model of profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of complex social phenomena and processes, an example of daring exposure of weaknesses in management styles and methods and ability to indicate accurate means for their elimination.

What is demanded of us now is not to rehash statements but, from the positions of the stipulations and requirements, to improve our work, to eliminate shortcomings and multiply their efforts in achieving standard improvements. This is dictated by the needs of our development and growing social functions and significance of health care in the period of building mature socialism.

It is true that, particularly after the October 1981 national conference and on the subject of other critical remarks made by Todor Zhivkov, the ministry's leadership has repeatedly discussed and taken steps to improve both style and method. Conferences were held with the health aktiv in 1982 and with the expanded collegium in 1983; orders were issued and extensive measures were undertaken in 1983 after the meeting of the ministry's leadership with senior BCP Central Committee comrades, etc. As a result, unquestionable progress has been made in planning-programming and control activities, strengthening interaction with the party's okrug committees, the people's councils and public organizations in the implementation of important health indicators and tasks. Unquestionable successes have been achieved, on which I shall not dwell. It is also true, however, that by no means have all problems been resolved. A number of approved measures are not being carried out or else are being carried out formally. We are concerned by some population health and mortality indicators. We need a qualitatively new attitude and the type of style and method of efficient management which will direct and properly implement the efforts of the health workers and the state, economic and social bodies and organizations in achieving high-level health care within a short time, consistent with the criteria of the mature socialist society.

Let me point out that considerable preliminary work has been done in the course of preparations for this meeting: the communists in the party groups studied the report note and earmarked their measures aimed at improving work style and methods; we recently concluded an investigation in all okrugs on the implementation of the health care resolutions adopted at the 12th Party Congress, under the sign of the report note; we drafted plans for measures and for a compensation program. Let me assure you that to us this is merely a good beginning of a qualitatively new effort relative to the style and method which we must firmly follow, for we consider this our great concern and constant obligation, obeying the general principles and requirements of improving the socialist health system.

What are the characteristic features of the situation in which we are discussing management style and methods today?

First. The nationwide struggle to surmount difficulties in economic development, the struggle to compensate losses and the proper implementation of the 8th Five-Year Plan. All of this requires additional efforts and stress, which demand special health support measures.

Second. The tempestuous development of production forces, changes in the nature of labor, comprehensive intensification, industrialization, and conurbation agglomeration, which require corresponding health measures in the communal sphere, particularly in worker health care and, above all, in connection with the tasks based on the February Plenum on Scientific and Technical Policy.

Third. The increased organizational, material-technical and cadre potential of our health care, the result of clarified health concepts and substantiated ways, on the basis of which successful progress is already being made.

Fourth. The still-existing lag in meeting the health needs of the population, the use of increased social resources, the development of the material base and the fast application of scientific achievements.

Briefly, what should be done on the tasks based on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's report note?

First. We Must Decisively Upgrade Planning and Its Scientific Medical-Social and Economic Substantiation.

It is true that plans exist, reaching the highest level of the ministry and the health network. However, they frequently insufficiently concretize the resolutions of the superior bodies. Usually, they are mostly a means of assigning tasks but not also organizing their implementation. As long as this shortcoming exists, planning assignments will remain depersonalized in their transfer from the leadership to the directorates and the various areas.

Which are the main problems which must be resolved in this connection?

Above all, planning methods must be radically improved. This must be based on a better knowledge of health needs, the fuller search for and mobilization of all available and potential resources for their satisfaction and their scientific and stable organization, related to the tasks of socioeconomic development and, on this basis, making the plans an instrument for health insurance. As we know, the health care targets are now adopted on a high level--the State Committee for Planning--where the unified national economic plan is being coordinated and backed with resources in most close connection with scientific and technical policy.

The ministry and the ODNZSG [Okrug Directorates of Public Health and Social Welfare] must develop the practice that a real plan exists only after the health requirements have been studied and all existing and potential resources for their satisfaction have been sought out and harnessed. It is particularly important to eliminate the aspiration of directorates within the ministry, the okrugs and the health institutions to include in their plans value indicators of medical and social efficiency lesser than their real possibilities while, at the same time, demand more resources than they actually need. This leads to important conclusions regarding the substantial improvements which must be made in our current style and method of health planning.

First of all, we must convert to forecasting the health status on the basis of the study of economic and social developments and the current condition and prospects of morbidity. It is on this basis that we must forecast the population's health requirements.

We must note, in this connection, that the directorates and the deputy ministers make insufficient use of the great opportunities of the scientific

institutes of the Medical Academy. Thus, for example, the forecast on the need for medical cadres in the various areas through the year 2000 was developed very slowly; major proposals on lowering the cost of pharmaceuticals has still not been formulated although this is related, among other things, to forecasting, in terms of time and social groups, of the gradual conversion to free medicinal supplies to the population.

The tie between scientific institutes and practical units must become daily practice if we wish to remain on the level of contemporary requirements. So far no such efficient ties have been developed even among units in which good opportunities to this effect may be found, such as between the public health and social welfare administration of the Sofia People's Council and the Medical Academy in Sofia, and between the units of our medical schools and corresponding ODNZSG. The reasons for this rest, above all, in the managements of the scientific institutes and the corresponding DNZSG. The elimination of this shortcoming is particularly necessary now, with a view to forecasting, including the forecasting of such insufficiently known yet already requiring a programmed action phenomena and processes such as mass socially significant diseases, infant mortality, mortality in the active work age, changes in pathology related to demographic aging, etc.

Furthermore, the plans for resource material and technical and cadre support must be developed on the basis of maximally objectivized forecasts of the dynamics of health requirements and the approved policy of priorities for their satisfaction rather than, as is usually the case, the formulation of such plans on a shaky basis.

Furthermore, forecasting and planning, particularly in the medical hygiene area, should be carried out on the type of quality level which will ensure prevent treatment a priority function. This will enable us radically to resolving important problems in the area of worker health care and, at the same time, to prevent the manifestation of risk factors; it will help substantially to improve the efficiency of the national program for labor safety and hygiene.

A radically new style involving the total coordination of work between the directorates of the Ministry of Public Health both among them and with the okrug directorates, would eliminate the existing shortcomings in this respect for this is a question of the main thing, achieving a most efficient utilization of resources for a significant social objective.

The planning and programmatic activities of the ministry and the ODNZSG must be developed in such a way as to answer the major, the radical problems and service the strategic assignments the implementation of which will determine the elimination of existing shortcomings and the basic reasons for discontent and will enhance health services to the level of contemporary requirements. The content of the plans and programs must make a clear distinction between strategic and long-term objectives, on the one hand, and immediate objectives and tasks, on the other.

In a number of respects we are clear on the main problems. However, such an understanding must be derived from a number of developments or developed

further and be given life by transferring it from the ministry and organizing its planned implementation by the okrugs, the settlement systems and the enterprises. More detailed plans must be formulated for the comprehensive strengthening of the leading front, the development of prevention in its contemporary meaning and content, the accelerated development of the material base and scientific and technical progress, improving hospital aid and first and emergency aid, etc. To this effect we must use much more energetically and extensively, and without delays, temporary groups of noted specialists who will comprehensively formulate target programs for all these and other urgent problems on a comprehensive medical, sociological, economic, organization and other viewpoints.

We must formulate problems in such a way that all of us profoundly realize that planning activities are among the most important tasks which determine success in the development and improvement of health care. Planning should be considered not as a technical work but as a most responsible activity. That is why the directorates of the ministry and the okrugs must become creative scientific laboratories and generators of new ideas and solutions. It is only thus that we shall be able to enhance the scientific and methodical standards of planning and enhance its role in developing the health care of mature socialism. A great role is now being assumed by the ODNZSG in establishing program-target planning and coordinating the implementation of national programs with local plans and resources.

Second. Eliminating Shortcomings at an Accelerated Pace

We must catch up with our lagging in the material and technical base, the application of scientific achievements and meeting the growing health needs of the population. The implementation of this task demands initiative, persistence, will power and, I would say, a new way of thinking and acting.

A number of steps were taken in recent years to ensure the fuller satisfaction of health needs, such as taking medical help closer to the people, improving polyclinic and hospital services and perfecting prevention, diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation methods.

Many examples can already be cited of health managers in a number of okrugs who seek and harness with energy and persistence the material and labor resources for broadening the material and technical base.

Favorable trends have appeared in a large number of important health indicators.

Supplies of new pharmaceuticals, instruments and apparatus have improved with the help of the solution of complex problems by the Medical Academy in organizing its own production of scarce medical materials in the country. With a view to surmounting the substantial lagging local programs are being drafted involving the sectorial ministries in the production of new medical items which will increasingly meet local needs and possibilities are being created of improving our balance in trade with the other socialist countries.

Accomplishments in meeting health needs should not be described. However, they are still not consistent with the possibilities of our health care, the leading achievements throughout the world and the high requirements of developed socialism. The investigation conducted in recent months on the implementation of the 8th Five-Year Plan indicates that some okrugs have fallen behind in a number of assignments and that the implementation of important health plan indicators has been threatened. Expedient decisions have been made and adequate measures have been planned. However, their implementation in a number of areas is unsystematic and delayed as a result of the lack of insistence and substantiations submitted to the okrug BCP committees and people's councils.

The data indicate that during the first half of this year infant mortality has increased instead of diminishing in a number of okrugs. The most alarming is the situation in Burgas, Vratsa, Varna, Razgrad, Sliven, Turgovishten Khaskovo okrugs, where the level reached by this indicator significantly exceeds the plan. At the same time, the investigation conducted by ministry and Medical Academy personnel indicated that possibilities of reducing infant mortality exist in all okrugs without exception.

Adverse trends have been noted in a number of areas also in terms of the other indicator included in the state health care plan: morbidity with temporary disability.

Nor can we be entirely satisfied with the dynamics of some indicators of the quality of diagnostic and treatment work. Hospital mortality caused by apoplexy declined during the first quarter of this year; however, mortality at home has increased, which is not a favorable condition. The highest hospital mortality was registered in Sofia, 36.4 percent, followed by Gabrovo Okrug with 31.9 percent and Ruse Okrug with 26.2 percent, compared with the national average of 16.6 percent. During the same period, hospital mortality caused by myocardial infarct declined and remained within the planned figures; however, it remained quite high in Pleven Okrug with 35.3 percent, Kurdzhali Okrug with 34.5 percent, Pernik Okrug with 26.2 percent and elsewhere, compared to the 16 percent national average.

We know that the task this five-year plan is to reduce to a certain limit the number of people serviced by sectorial physicians in order to create the necessary objective prerequisites in the 9th Five-Year Plan for upgrading work quality at the cutting edge of health care.

The investigations conducted by the ministry established that the implementation of this strategic task is still lagging in Burgas, Vratsa, Sofia and Turgovishte okrugs. In some areas the people are still expecting increased staffs including looking for reserves at home.

Despite the efforts made by the ministry, the capital construction plan is not being satisfactorily fulfilled. No more than 22 percent of the annual capital investments were used during the first half of the year and in some okrugs the figure is even lower: Varna, 12 percent; Pernik, 12 percent; Razgrad, 13 percent; Lovech, 14 percent; Sofia City, 15 percent, and so on.

This clearly indicates that the fulfillment of the basic indicators of the five-year and annual health care plans is threatened. The only solution is to ensure a decisive improvement in our work style and methods and our control and exigency, in order to ensure the full harnessing of the subjective factor and implement all plan indicators. We must upgrade our activeness and persistence concerning investors and construction organizations; we must improve relations with them in order to achieve an upturn in the implementation of the capital construction plan.

Some difficulties inherited from the past are manifestations of shortcomings of inadequacies in the style and methods of work in the material and technical area.

We have still not developed a system for forecasting, planning and efficient equipment utilization; no functional unit has been set up to supervise its utilization and, on this basis, ensure a rational redistribution which could save millions of foreign exchange leva and limited resources. Let us cite as an example the large number of hospitals with unused expensive equipment because of incompleteness, delayed claims, lack of trained cadres and other subjective reasons. Meanwhile, other health institutions are experiencing an urgent need for basic technical facilities, which also predetermines the great disparities in the possibilities of health services to the population on the different levels within the network. We must formulate the rights and responsibilities of the functional units in the ministry and the ties among the individual directorates and areas more clearly. In coordinating contingents with the other socialist countries, it is of prime importance to create conditions for our more direct involvement in the development of the medical industry in our country and for international integration.

The fact that the upturn in health care we require and its lagging in the development of the other sectors in the country indicates that shortcomings and our lagging behind needs in a number of areas and compared with the advanced countries are being eliminated at pace slower than required.

This means that today the entire health care system, ranging from the ministry to the health sector, must be maximally intensified. Time is becoming an exceptionally important factor in the implementation of the tasks set at the 12th Congress and in the creation of lasting conditions which will enable health care to develop at the necessary high and stable pace during the 9th Five-Year Plan.

It is in this light that we should also consider the problems of wasting working time and time serving.

This major shortcoming is "blossoming" in our country as well, drawing our attention away from significant features and concentrating on petty and minor problems. This is largely contributing to the unsatisfactory pace at which shortcomings are being surmounted.

Where does the working time go?

All of us, at the ministry and the okrugs, engage in a large number of sometimes unnecessary meetings and conferences, which frequently last hours and at which we consider an excessive number of frequently insignificant problems. A large percentage of such problems could and should be resolved operatively. We also come across cases in which problems are submitted for discussion without being properly prepared and with the participants in the meeting not being informed and sufficiently prepared to consider them.

In order to avoid assuming responsibility or for the sake of "reinsurance," many managers submit problems which they should resolve to superior instances, thus wasting their time; some such problems are submitted even to the minister.

We are still unable to surmount the writing of a number of reports, accounts, plans, references, and others, which absorb a great deal of the time of managements and their personnel, preventing them from focusing their attention on basic problems.

A great deal of time is lost also as a result of "loose and meaningless discussions," and in drafting substandard materials, which must be returned for further work or redrafting, sometimes more than once or twice.

Valuable working time is also lost as a result of the pursuit of social affairs during working time in violation of the minister's order, and the large number of nonplanned assignments, omissions in labor discipline, the performance of technical assignments (typing, messenger activities and others) by skilled cadres, etc.

In order to eliminate all such shortcomings, which unnecessarily take valuable time, urgent steps must be taken, in order:

To reduce the number of meetings, submit for consideration important problems only, with properly prepared and promptly submitted materials;

To upgrade the independence and responsibility of managers in resolving all problems which do not require the competence of superior levels;

To make full use of the time of the specialists for creative management activities, relieving them of noninherent problems, supplying them with organizational and technical facilities, etc.;

To see to it that most of the working time of officials is spent in implementation of essential tasks;

To create a style of businesslike work and responsibility of those who waste the time of others; to upgrade discipline and requirements concerning quality, promptness of execution, etc.

In speaking of eliminating time losses in our system, let me draw your attention to another particularly important feature: saving the population's time, above all that of the working people. In this respect, with the help of even more energetic and special purposeful measures, we must demand strictly

improvements in the organization of the reception of the population in outpatient-polyclinical institutions, the elimination of lines, a rational reduction of the time spent in diagnostic and treatment activities, bringing medical aid and medication closer to the labor collectives, to the people, etc. We must approach this problem with the understanding that not everything has been resolved yet and that all administrative bodies must take special measures and concern for the systematic and most direct supervision of the accurate and accelerated solution of this exceptionally important problem of broad public importance.

Third. Upgrading Efficiency in the Practical Implementation of Assignments

The sluggishness and lack of sufficient expediency are exceptionally serious and basic weaknesses in all our administrative units. The individual performer must be informed of decisions promptly and on an organized basis. Achieving the necessary efficiency, as an essential element of the work styles and methods, is a problem which is always in the sights of the ministry's leadership. A number of steps were taken to assert a more efficient management and help on the spot, improving the organization of management, ensuring the prompt interaction among directorates within the ministry itself and with the okrug directorates, in order to improve efficiency in coordination with other departments and organizations.

All special situations which require high quality of efficient management reaction and resolution were considered and analyzed in detail, and organizational conclusions drawn, with special attention, exigency and a feeling of responsibility. This is a deeply rooted style and method with proper work forms applied by the management and the apparatus of the ministry, the ODNZSG and the entire health network. It is no accident that under extreme and breakdown situations and other disasters, the ministry has been among the first to react efficiently and usually the health authorities are the first to assist on the spot.

However, could we say that everything possible has been done to ensure maximal efficiency and management organization and organization in the other health care activities?

Briefly, what are the weak aspects?

Sometimes, the reasons begin the moment decisions are made. In a number of cases management units are slow to respond to situations or requirements which need fast or urgent steps. Let me cite as an example the exposure of weaknesses by the mass information media, to which we react with a delay. The directorates have frequently taken decisions or drafted managerial documents lacking proper information and clarity or else sent assignments inconsistent with the managerial and performing units or else assignments which should be assigned to other subdivisions or okrug directorates. This lowers the value of resolutions, lowered further as they approach the level of the performing workers.

Delays occur in drafting a number of programmatic documents of topical significance, such as programs for the health care of children and mothers,

the program for leading features, the struggle against socially significant diseases, etc. Documents on the two-step servicing, the creation of the area of general medicine, the use of treatment at home, etc., have been delayed. A lack of expediency is noted particularly in the work of the treatment-prophylactic, sanatorium-resort and other directorates. The Social Care Directorate has been sluggish in updating training programs for the disabled. A number of examples can be cited of slow, sluggish progress in a number of important problems on the part of the DNZSG and the local health managements.

The efficient formulation of the tasks to the performers is another weak aspect. Practical experience proves that there is more talk than action. Formulated resolutions are not always reduced to the level of specific assignments, and even after they have been formulated as assignments, they are held back on the management level and either greatly delayed or not delivered to the performers with the sense of the required responsibility with which they were formulated. In such a case, what is the usefulness of a number of decisions, which either lose their relevance or even failed to reach their final target?

Substantial shortcomings must be eliminated in the organization of performing work. The ministry and the okrug directorates spend much more time in drafting plans, programs, instructions and other administrative documents and much less in the organization which will ensure their implementation. The implementation of assignments is not always undertaken promptly. Valuable time is lost, which leads to rushing and formal implementation to the detriment of quality. A number of examples to this effect could be cited.

Bureaucratism has not been eliminated. Some management units are content to pass along decisions and orders formerly, without developing a creative attitude toward them and their implementation. Such a bureaucratic approach greatly hinders performing workers, particularly when it is a question of implementing useful initiatives, introducing new work methods and forms of organization, etc. Some ministry personnel have not eliminated their poor bureaucratic work style which may be found also among the heads of local health services and institutions.

In a number of areas the health managements do not display adequate consistency, persistence and militancy in the implementation of assignments. Let us cite in this respect the example of the significant delay in restructuring the availability of beds with a view to concentrating health care capacities. The implementation of this assignment is hindered in some areas by the existence of parochial feelings and personal interests (Vratsa, Smolyan and others). We are showing insufficient persistence with the okrug party, administrative and economic managements in terms of health care construction, resolving problems of jobs for pregnant women, problems of jobs and professional training of the disabled and new construction, modernization and reconstruction of social insurance institutions.

Improving labor discipline on all levels is of exceptional importance in organizing performance and its timeliness and quality. Many departments heads, chief physicians, DNSZSG directors and senior ministry officials are displaying liberalism and tolerance of blunders, poor labor discipline and

nonfulfillment or substandard fulfillment of tasks. This fault, which reduces to naught efforts to achieve productivity, intensification, high quality, order and precision, which are so necessary in any health institution and, on the other hand, as practical experience indicates, is frequently the reason for incidents with many serious consequences, is being poorly opposed by all of us who bear important responsibility for a number of difficulties existing in the health care system.

The question is, are the steps we are taking and our demand to sum up positive experience, to improve the organization of the work and upgrade and technological discipline in the labor collectives and the proper and expedient assignment of tasks among individual specialists and performers, sufficiently effective. Displaying a new attitude, it is the managements on the various levels of administration above all, who should make the necessary quality improvements.

The moment it is formulated, an assignment must be evaluated from the viewpoint of the possible shortest period of time for its qualitative implementation.

An efficient organization for the prompt, operative and highly efficient implementation must be provided for each program and decision.

Any completed assignment must be evaluated from the viewpoint of its quality and effectiveness.

Along the entire command chain, from top to bottom, we must cultivate a style of efficiency as a high quality of contemporary management in order to accelerate the implementation of highly efficient measures.

Fourth. Decisive Improvements in Our Control Activities.

The ministry has developed a system for controlling the implementation of party and government decisions and decisions of the collegium and the leadership. The information which is required for control work became more systematic with the strengthening of the GIITs [Main Implementation Information Center]. Control over the activities of the okrug directorates has become better organized in recent years: organizational-methodical aid to specialists and scientific workers by the central units has been improved, as an important means of comprehensively assessing the condition and controlling and assisting in the implementation of the assignments by the health care network.

Nevertheless, we cannot remain satisfied with the condition of our control activities which have still not turned into an effective factor in ensuring the qualitative and full implementation of planned assignments.

This is confirmed by the existence of nonimplemented measures, delays or formalistic implementation of others and, frequently, replanning of nonimplemented important assignments. For a long time, for example, we have been dragging the implementation of the decision of creating the specialty of general medicine, free patient treatment at home, organization of family

outpatient clinics, renovation of standards, and some others. Our control activities are still not sufficiently effective because of implementation formalism, reduced exigency and failure to seek personal liability. In a number of cases specialized control organs of the Ministry of Public Health poorly study and are poorly familiar with the units under their control. Frequently the condition of control in our country is kept at its primary and lowest level: We note shortcomings or nonfulfillments at the end of the stipulated deadline, without analyzing the reasons for such faults and submitting radical improvement suggestions.

The control activities of directorates at the ministry and the NZSG directorates of okrug people's councils are not always sufficiently coordinated, efficient, exigent and preventive; occasionally, they are formal and on paper only. In frequent cases control is based on documents rather than the actual condition and the real implementation of assignments. We must regulate better the content and organization of control activities on all management levels.

Formalism is allowed also in a specific health care form of social control: the reports which health services submits to the population. In frequent cases the population's attendance is small and directorates at the okrugs and the ministry sometimes sluggishly react to submitted expedient suggestions.

The effectiveness of the investigations in the individual okrugs, organized by the ministry, is not always satisfactory because of insufficiently extensive study of the investigated projects. Occasionally, reaction on the part of the directorates in the ministry to the results of investigations and questions raised is sluggish.

All of this demands, on the basis of the critical analysis of our current activities, further to develop and improve on all levels the control system and convert it into a reliable instrument for the implementation of said objectives.

Control must encompass the entire planning-execution-result system, i.e., from the "input" to the "output." So far, we have not accomplished this to its fullest extent. With such control cases of nonfulfillment of the plan for some indicators relative to health-demographic processes, health care planning and capital construction, the breakdown of health sectors and other assignments would have been significantly fewer.

Control activities must become comprehensive, timely, systematic and competent. The absence of such elements results in mounting control campaigns and accelerating it, after it has become late and ineffective. Usually, the problem is considered resolved after a proper legal document or program has been drafted, without tracing and controlling its total implementation. A number of examples could be cited here of unsatisfactory health care activities, helped by the lack of systematic and efficient control; worsened infant mortality in the initial months of 1985; unsatisfactory work of consultations for children and women; violations of quality and standards in serving patients in outpatient-polyclinical units and "dragging patients" from one place to another as well as lines waiting in front of confrontation

offices, found in a number of places; weaknesses in supplying the front line with fast operational methods; formal application of the two-step servicing in many institutions; omissions in terms of the speed, quality and efficiency of diagnostic, treatment and rehabilitation activities; and omissions in medical services in some sanatorium-resort units. With a view to involving in supervising control quality it is particularly important to involve the best specialists (on the republic, okrug and the rayon levels) who would be able most competently to control, analyze and assist in improving the condition of health care activities.

Control must be developed and carried out fully, in its main three functions: preventive, study and constructive. Its main purpose must be the prevention of shortcomings and nonfulfillments and eliminating reasons for failures, rather than merely recording consequences. Control must become entirely constructive, issuing instructions and suggestions for the elimination of shortcomings and providing help in this respect.

At the same time, we need exigent, aggressive and uncompromising control. We must analyze shortcomings, including personal responsibility for violating deadlines and quality of implementation, manifestations of formalism and irresponsibility concerning official and professional obligations.

As part of the measures aimed at decisively improving control activities, managements should pay serious attention to the organization of information support for health care management. Based on the nature, dynamics and significance of a given condition and activity, we must establish when and what type of information should be received (on a daily, weekly, monthly, etc., basis) on a specific problem, on a specific management level, etc. For the time being, we have the necessary prompt and qualitative information on the dissemination of contagious diseases, temporary or permanent disability, outpatient-polyclinical morbidity, etc., which is of great help to us. We must develop a similar system also for other important indicators, so that we may quickly react should some basic trends in our activities fall behind.

Enhancing the level of self-control and self-exigency is of great importance. The feeling of self-exigency and the organization of self-control must become major criteria in the selection of leading health care cadres. Such qualities must be developed and trained in health cadres with the help of the party, trade union and public organizations and the entire health care collectives.

Fifth. Leading Role of Management Cadres

In accordance with the implementation of the party's stipulations, we have made improvements in recent years in the work with cadres at the ministry and the okrug directorate. We have increased our exigency toward them, as a result of which some cadre changes were made in the ministry's apparatus. We introduced the competitive choice of leading cadres and are implementing measures at upgrading their skills. We are taking steps to ensure the existence of reserve cadres. All of this is true. However, it is also true that our cadre policy is insufficiently sufficient and does not satisfy contemporary requirements.

What are the more essential shortcomings in our work with cadres?

Some of the leading cadres at the ministry and in the okrug directorates are behind the requirements of a contemporary manager: they are insufficiently initiative-minded; they fail to manifest a creative approach to the formulation and implementation of innovative decisions; they prefer to wait for instructions "from above"; they fail to formulate health care problems in their own sectors;

Exigency toward cadres which systematically fall behind has been lowered. At the same time, insufficient concern is being shown to encourage those who have proved through their actions their practical qualities and capabilities;

The appointments of some leading cadres is being groundlessly delayed, thus adversely affecting their work;

The work aimed at upgrading management skills in managing administrative and specialized cadres is not sufficiently purposeful and systematic. The achievements of the social management science are being applied slowly and with difficulty in the activities of health managers on all levels of the health care system.

This situation can no longer be allowed. A radical change must be made in our cadre policy. Without such a change we cannot resolve the major problems set to us by the party on intensifying health care, the accelerated development of scientific and technical progress and decisively upgrading the quality and standards of population medical services.

What should be done?

Above all, a close and deep assessment of existing cadres within the ministry and in the system of the okrug health care organizations must be made, replacing those who fail to meet the requirements of their positions and show no future possibilities;

We must decisively improve the selection of management cadres in the ministry, the ODNZSG and the managements of health institutions and departments. Our work with cadres, leading cadres in particular, is not on the necessary level always and everywhere. Omissions in this respect are the reason for some cadre misfortunes in the choice of ODNZSG directors, chief physicians and department heads. Professionally competent people, with organizational qualities and who display sociopolitical activeness, must be placed in leading positions. It is on this basis that the competitive principle and the certification of leading cadres must be improved;

It is particularly important to improve the work with reserve cadres, which must consist, above all, of young specialists with unquestionable development possibilities. On the basis of a plan coordinated with the okrugs, the ministry must assign them to specialize, at home and abroad, and follow most closely their successes and assign them management projects and tasks;

Serious measures should be taken decisively to upgrade exigency toward leading cadres; we must show them our trust combined with personal responsibility and moral incentive. In this connection, expedient steps must be taken to eliminate equalization in the salaries of management cadres.

When we speak of radical improvements in the work with management cadres we have in mind our particular responsibility for the ideological and professional-moral upbringing of cadres on all levels. At this point we must know, on a self-critical basis, the insufficiently energetic and timely reaction to some shameful actions on the part of individual health workers who destroy the respect, love and trust enjoyed by Bulgarian physicians among the people. We must engage in an uncompromising struggle against such manifestations and work for their prevention. We groundlessly neglected efforts to ensure the active and extensive application of the requirements of the moral code of the physician and of the commissions in charge of morality, ethics and professional responsibility of health workers. It is high time, together with the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee, to surmount such inertia and to expand extensive and aggressive activities in order to enhance the ideological and moral behavior of health workers to the level of the strictest requirements of a socialist health care worker.

Comrades:

As you can see, we are facing exceptionally serious and responsible activities in order radically to improve the style and methods of work and raise our management and leading activities to a qualitatively new standard, fully consistent with the strict requirements set by the party and society. The solution of the set of problems related to this should be undertaken as of now and continue at a growing pace.

Let me particularly emphasize that today the most important thing is for all activities related to improving the workstyle and methods to be most closely related to the implementation of the assignments which we must complete by the end of this year with the annual plan and the 8th Five-Year Plan. I shall not discuss these problems, for quite recently we analyzed comprehensively the course of the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, determined the lagging trends and individual okrugs and earmark the measures to surmount weaknesses and lagging.

Let me add that today must not simply note weaknesses and indicate their reasons but ensure their fast, lasting and efficient elimination with the help of the powerful harnessing of the subjective factor, i.e., everyone must consider himself as co-respondent in resolving the imperative problem of enhancing the health care standards of our people to a higher level.

The shadows which objective difficulties cast, although they do exist, is rather small for us to conceal within them our subjective weaknesses.

The faster we surmount weaknesses in the management style and method, the better. There is no alternative to this party imperative.

The main thing now is to ensure the type of upsurge in all areas and levels, which will enable us to fulfill and overfulfill all plan indicators. This will be our way properly to welcome the 13th Party Congress. Allow me to express the firm confidence of the ministry's leadership that all of us present at this conference will display high political awareness, creativity, initiative and public and professional responsibility and lack of compromise in resolving ever more efficiently and more effectively the health problems of the people in society, those making a greater contribution to enhancing the health of the people.

5003

CSO: 2200/89

BULGARIA

PRICE VIOLATIONS DISCUSSED

AU131358 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Gospodin Kortsanov, deputy chairman of the Committee on State and People's Control: "The Balance between Prices and Quality Has Been Violated."]

[Excerpts] The prices are an important factor in increasing production quality and effectiveness while constructing the developed socialist society. In his remarkable lectures to the students and faculty members of the Academy of Social Sciences and Public Administration and his introductory speech at the national party conference, Comrade Todor Zhivkov scientifically analyzed the mutual relations between quality and prices. It was strongly emphasized that the price must be determined not by what the producer thinks about the quality, but by the "real consumer qualities of the goods and the necessary public expenditures for their production. "The Long-Range party program on Improving Quality, which has been adopted, also pays special attention to the necessity of perfecting the system of establishing prices in accordance with the party requirements.

The Committee on State and People's Control, together with the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Main Administration on Standardization, and other control organs inspected prices and price forming in production for domestic and foreign markets. The inspection encompassed 5 ikrug and 20 municipal people's councils, together with the "Meat Industry" Economic Directorate, "pirin" Industrial-Trade Trust, "Rila" Economic Combine, and "Mladost" State Economic Trust.

The economic organizations and organs on price forming, which were inspected, had been guided in their activity by the requirements of the party and state decisions on general intensification of production and increasing production quality, profitability and competing ability. In many cases prices had been established according to the principles and economic laws on the developing socialist society, which had been adopted. Work related to renewing production, diversifying the assortment, and increasing quality had been improved. The scope and relative share of modern and luxurious goods have been better satisfied.

Regardless of the positive results which have been achieved, establishing the price and steering them in the inspected enterprise do not correspond to the high criteria and requirements of the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference. Serious weaknesses and violations of normative acts have been admitted.

Very frequently, new prices have been presented which have included production expenditures which were higher than the normatively set limits.

The serious violations of the normative acts on price establishment, which had been allowed, are the reason for the unjustified level of the prices of many goods.

The violations which have been pointed out, fully contradict the BCP policy on improving the quality of consumer goods, increasing labor productivity, and implementing the social program to constantly improve the people's standard of living. The violations have a predominantly subjective character. Many economic leaders have shown a narrow-bureaucratic approach. This erroneous approach has been the reason for seriously underestimating the role of price establishment as a factor in improving labor quality and production.

Control has not been too strict. The Main Administration on Prices and the other price-forming organs have in many cases seriously underestimated the analysis of the element of the prime cost of the new articles and have not cooperated in decreasing the expenditures of materials, energy, and labor. In many cases prices have been approved without attached draft-receipts, calculations, analytical memorandums, coordinating letters from the basic consumers, and so forth. The coordination between the organs of price control and other specialized and public control organs such as the Main Administration on Standardization is not on the necessary level.

The Executive Committees of the inspected Okrug People's Councils reviewed the results of the inspection and adopted decisions on removing the weaknesses and violations, and on improving work on price-forming and prices in general. The Main Administration on Prices imposed fines and issued orders on including the unjustly received profits in the budget. The organs of the Main Administration on Standardization stopped the sale of goods defined as luxurious, but are violating the national standard and have obvious defects. The Committee on State and People's Control issued binding instructions on removing the serious weaknesses and violations in price establishment which have been found in "Pirin" Industrial Trade Trust, "Mladost" State Economic Trust, and "Rila" Economic Combine.

It is necessary to reconstruct the entire work on prices and price establishment. This is the road toward satisfying the market with high-quality and diverse goods for the population, improving their profitability and competitiveness, and successfully implementing the plan for this year and this 5-year period.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ACADEMICIAN TODOROV SPEAKS AT UNIFICATION RALLY

AU192235 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Plovdiv, 19 Sep (BTA)--The joy of the Bulgarian people after the triumph of their struggle against Ottoman domination as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of Liberation (1877-1878) was brief. The San Stefano Peace Treaty which put an end to the war between Russia and Turkey and which gave the Bulgarians and other Balkan peoples the possibility to start on the road of independent development, was substituted under the pressure of Austria-Hungary and Great Britain, who feared Russia's growing influence in the Balkans and in the Middle East, for the Berlin Treaty, worked out by the Berlin congress (1 June-1 July, 1878). Actually the Berlin Treaty revised the right of the Bulgarians to unite in one state. Bulgaria was divided into three parts--a Bulgarian state, tributary of Turkey occupying the area between the Danube and the Balkans and with a capital of Sofia; East Rumelia, lying between the Balkans and the Rhodope Mountains, which received autonomy within the framework of Turkey; and Macedonia and a part of the Edrine region were returned to Turkey.

The struggle of the Bulgarian people for the realization of their age-old rights did not stop. Seven years after the Berlin Congress as a result of the wide ranging preparations among the population and of complicated diplomatic activities for overcoming the resistance of the European powers, the Bulgarians of the autonomous region of Eastern Rumelia declared their unification with the principality of Bulgaria.

An official rally was held here today in the presence of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the unification. A speech was read by academician Nikolay Todorov, vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute for Balkan Studies.

The speaker pointed out that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is a faithful successor and a consistent continuator of the revolutionary and democratic strivings and traditions of the Bulgarian people, which were not directed against the sovereign interests of a single

state and nation. Creatively developing these traditions and raising them to a higher level, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is unflinchingly pursuing an internationalist and peaceful foreign policy which has assigned her a worthy place in the struggle of the peoples against the military threat, for independence, democracy and social progress.

Academician Nikolay Todorov said that the efforts of socialist Bulgaria are invariably directed towards the consolidation of understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation with all countries and people in the world including in the Balkans. "There exist serious and real pre-conditions for this troubled in the past region to turn in a zone of lasting peace," he stressed. Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans is a realistic policy consistent with the different historical, socio-political and ideological development of all Balkan countries. Its characteristic feature is the striving to strengthen what brings the Balkan people closer and not what sets them apart. Bulgaria is striving to broaden bilateral cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis.

Academician Nikolay Todorov stressed the significance of the idea for turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone which is "of vital importance for all Balkan countries and is in the interests of all their peoples."

"There are also forces to which this idea does not appeal. But we are convinced that in the Balkans there are enough realistically-minded people determined and capable of struggling for its realization", the academician emphasized.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov unveiled the monument to the unification which constitutes the wings of a bird from which the eight-metre figure of a girl rises carrying a laurel high above her head.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV SPEECH AT WORLD TOURIST ASSEMBLY OPENING

AU251201 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Sep 85 p 1

[Speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, at the opening of the World Tourist Organization General Assembly on 23 September, at the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" People's Palace of Culture in Sofia]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Secretary General, esteemed delegates, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, I take the liberty to welcome the delegates and guests to the General Assembly of the World Tourist Organization [WTO] which is taking place in our motherland, on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on behalf of the Bulgarian government.

I am fulfilling this pleasant duty with great satisfaction and I would like to assure you that the Bulgarian public views the activities of your organization with friendly feelings and great respect.

Some of those present today will perhaps remember the intergovernmental Conference on Tourism held in our country in 1969. At that time I ardently supported the idea of establishing a World Tourist Organization on behalf of our Bulgarian government.

I am glad that we actively participated and are still participating in the establishment and development of this noble organization, and I thank you that, today, 16 years later, you have come to our country to hold a meeting of the most high-ranking and most representative forum of this organization.

We Bulgarians are proud of our beautiful and ancient country which has inherited great cultural values from the past. We are now building a new society and our efforts are mainly concentrated on this task. However, our eyes are not closed to the world which we are an inseparable part of. In order to achieve our great, constructive goals, in order to master the achievements of scientific-technical revolution, we need peace and we need cooperation with all countries and peoples who cherish peace and human progress.

A great antiwar movement is expanding today, a movement which is invading our entire planet. The Soviet Union and the other socialist community member countries are marching at the head of the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, for settling controversial problems through a frank, honest, and peaceful dialogue.

Peace and mutually advantageous international cooperation represent the basis of our foreign policy. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always contributed and will contribute to the alleviation of international tension, to peace and security in the Balkans and throughout the world, to the consolidation of all positive elements in contemporary, international relations.

Our country is profoundly convinced that world tourism represents a factor of exceptional importance for mutual acquaintance and friendship among people, and, in the long run, for understanding and cooperation among nations. The activities devoted to the consolidation of peace.

Guided by precisely these principles, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is actively contributing to the implementation of the goals and principles expressed in the documents and decisions of the Intergovernmental Conference on Tourism and of the WTO.

Over 30 intergovernmental agreements for cooperation previously signed by our country are an expression of this policy.

In accordance with these agreements, our tourist organizations maintain active contacts for exchange with over 1,000 tourist firms from various countries and with numerous organizations engaged in putting together tourist projects.

In 1983 we established the Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Recreation as a public-state organ for the promotion of an uniform state policy in this sector. We continue to devote great capital investments to the expansion of the material base of collective recreation, to the development of tourist zones and territories in our country, to the propagation of historical and cultural sites, and to the preservation of their original character. The work connected with the implementation of ambitious programs for improving the quality and expanding the market of tourism products and tourist services is further pursued.

As a result of the efforts devoted to tourist projects and as a result of a large tourist base built in recent years, the People's Republic of Bulgaria belongs to the developed tourist countries of the world. Over 6 million foreigners annually visit our country.

Tourism and recreation in our country are not the privilege of a minority of people, but the constitutional right of all citizens, guaranteed by the state.

The care devoted to tourism and recreation is an inseparable part of our social policy devoted to the improvement of the nation's creative strength, to the people's longevity, and to the prolongation of their working capacities, as well as to the constant improvement of our country's material well being and cultural standards.

Esteemed gentlemen, delegates, and guests, we are convinced that the Sofia session of the General Assembly will confirm the will of those participating in the session to develop their cooperation in the sector of tourism. As to

us, we will continue to develop these lofty, humanitarian activities and we will cooperate with all states and with the WTO for the benefit of man and for the people's happiness.

Permit me, our dear guests and friends, to assure you that we will create all necessary conditions for the fruitful activity of your session and that we will be happy to cooperate with you for peace and cooperation among the peoples and states, for a better future!

I wish you great success in your responsible work and pleasant stay in our country!

CS0: 2200/5

BULGARIA

TOURIST ASSEMBLY SESSION CLOSES 26 SEPTEMBER

AU261633 Sofia BTA in English 1321 GMT 26 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, September 26 (BTA) -- The Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organization ended today. Mr Luchezar Avramov, chairman of the Bulgarian Association of Tourism and Recreation and of the organizing committee of the session, noted in his closing speech, that it was marked for its constructive and realistic approach and for the mutual understanding between the participants.

The session, which was attended by 350 delegates from 83 countries, adopted two documents that are of a great significance for the development of international tourism: a tourism charter and a tourist's code. These documents confirm everyone's right to recreation and encourage the measures, which would allow an active participation by everyone in the internal and international tourism. An appeal is made to the governments to ease customs, transport and other conditions for the tourists. The main principle embedded in the tourist's code is the establishment of relations of friendship between the people in an atmosphere of peace and understanding and the honoring of the political and social order, the ethnic and religious customs of the hosting countries.

WTO's budget and working program for the 1986-1987 period were adopted during the session. A series of norms and practical experiences of recommendatory nature were adopted, which would facilitate tourist travel between the different countries. The participants discussed a report on the training of the personnel employed in tourism and recommendations were made to take into consideration the traditions and customs of the people of the developing countries when organizing their tourism. The session adopted the mottoes for the days of tourism in 1986 and 1987: "Tourism in the service of world peace" and "tourism for development."

The session supported a recommendation made by the Jordanian delegation to send a cable to the president of the State Council, Mr Todor Zhivkov. The telegram expresses gratitude to the hosting country for the hospitality and the excellent conditions for the holding of the tourism forum.

Mr Luchezar Avramov expressed the participants' gratitude to the outgoing secretary general, Mr Robert Lonatti, for his thirty-year long activities for

the development of international tourism and wished the new secretary general Mr Willibald Pahr and all other participating delegations, success in their noble work in the name of peace and understanding between the peoples.

The next 7th session of the WTO General Assembly will be held in Spain.

CS0: 2200/5

BULGARIA

STUKALIN-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS 30 AUGUST

AU301337 Sofia BTA in English 1140 GMT 30 Aug 85

[Text] Sofia, 30 Aug (BTA)--A delegation of the USSR's Commission for UNE, led by its chairman, Victor Stukalin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, visited Bulgaria from 26 to 30 August.

The guests were received by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, and they discussed the possibilities for expanding and enriching the contacts between the two countries in the framework of the prestigious international organization.

The delegation was also received by Mr Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture who heads the organizational committee for the forthcoming 23rd session of UNESCO's General Conference. Special attention was paid to the preparations of Bulgaria as host of the session.

The Soviet guests met Mr Kiril Zarev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

During its stay the delegation had fruitful talks with the Bureau of Bulgaria's national Commission for UNESCO and visited a number of cultural institutions and historic monuments.

Today the delegation departed.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

LEADERS' APPEARANCES 21-28 SEPTEMBER

AU281853 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its broadcasts from 21 through 28 September notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcast given in parentheses):

Todor Bozhinov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of metallurgy and mineral resources, attended a meeting of the Ruse Okrug BCP Committee dealing with the saving of energy and raw material resources (0900 GMT 25 September). Todor Bozhinov also attended a meeting of the Pleven Okrug BCP Committee dealing with energy saving problems (1730 GMT 26 September). Bozhinov also attended a meeting of the Burga Okrug BCP Committee dealing with energy saving problems (1930 GMT 25 September).

Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a scientific session devoted to the 40th anniversary of the "Lenin" Electrical Engineering Institute in Sofia (0900 GMT 25 September).

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a meeting in Razgrad at which Okrug secretaries in charge of agriculture discussed the introduction of scientific-technological progress in this sector (1730 GMT 25 September).

Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a national youth meeting in Sofia dealing with the role of the Komsomol in strengthening young families and encouraging motherhood (1730 GMT 26 September).

CSO: 2200/5

BULGARIA

CZHUROV ISSUES ORDER OF DAY ON ANNIVERSARY

AU101322 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Order of the Day of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, on the 41st anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria]

[Text] Comrade officers, generals, and admirals, comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers, comrade workers, technicians, engineers, and employees of the military enterprises and organizations, soldiers of the reserve forces: Our people and the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are celebrating the 41st anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria in an atmosphere of a great working and political upsurge, inspired by the preparations of the party and the country for the 13th BCP Congress.

Closely rallied around the BCP April general line, the working people are developing the socialist competition for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan for the Eighth 5-Year Plan period, and for increasing the motherland's economic and defensive power. The workers, agrarian workers, and the working intelligentsia are laboring diligently and selflessly to increase the production quality and implement the decisions of the BCP national conference and the BCP Central Committee February Plenum. The advantages of real socialism and the vital power of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries are becoming ever more evident. The successes of our country are multiplying and the people's prosperity is growing.

The soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army greet the Day of Freedom with new and greater successes in combat and political training and in increasing the troops' combat readiness. The working collectives in the military enterprises and organizations are successfully fulfilling and overfulfilling their production plans.

This year we mark our national holiday under the conditions of an exacerbated international situation. The most reactionary circles in the United States and NATO are following an overt militaristic course in the arms race, and are striving to violate the existing

balance of power and achieve military superiority over the USSR and the other socialist countries. This is the reason for the new U.S. military programs for creating and perfecting nuclear, conventional, and space weapons, and turning space into an arena of "star wars."

The countries of the socialist community led by the USSR fully recognize their responsibility for the destiny of peace in the world and are doing everything possible for the triumph of political wisdom and goodwill in international relations.

The USSR initiative of unilaterally stopping the nuclear experiments, aimed at stopping the arms race imbued with the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, is an expression of this policy.

The soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army are always ready to implement their patriotic and international duty in defense of the cause of peace and socialism, in a united formation with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member-states, led by the invincible Soviet Army.

Comrade soldiers and commanders,
Comrade military workers and employees,
Soldiers of the reserve forces,

I greet you most cordially on the 41st anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria and wish you health, happiness, and even greater successes in the struggle for increasing the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army on a new quality and higher level.

For making the 41st anniversary of the soviet revolution in Bulgaria...

I Order:

On 9 September 1985, 20 artillery salvoes are to be fired and festive illuminations are to be conducted in our capital Sofia, and in the cities of Plovdiv, Sliven, and Varna.

Long live for centuries the cause of the 9 September Socialist Revolution!

Long live the BCP--organizer and inspirer of all our victories!

Glory to the USSR and its invincible army--liberator!

Long live our dear motherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

[signed] Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS

AU100954 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Kim Il-Song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK president, and Kang Song-san, chairman of the Administrative Council:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf, we send the SPK Central Committee, the Central People's Committee, the Administrative Council, the fraternal Korean people, and you, personally, most cordial greetings on the 37th anniversary of establishing the DPRK.

The establishment of the DPRK on 9 September 1948 was the greatest achievement of the Korean people's revolutionary struggle. Since then, the DPRK working people under the leadership of their tested vanguard--the WPK--and in close cooperation with the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, are conducting major socio-economic changes and defended the country's independence in the struggle against imperialism. Today working Korea is a modern agro-industrial country, in which industry, agriculture, culture, and science are successfully developing. The role of the DPRK in the international arena is constantly growing.

The Bulgarian people greet from the bottom of their hearts the successes of the friendly Korean people in the construction of socialism, and wish them even greater successes in implementing the decisions of the Sixth WPK Congress.

The BCP, Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Bulgarian people are steadily supporting the just struggle of the fraternal Korean people for withdrawing the U.S. troops from South Korea and uniting the country in a peaceful manner and on a democratic basis without any foreign interference.

We note with satisfaction that Bulgarian-Korean relations, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are strengthening and developing in accordance with the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation. The meetings and talks at the highest level, held in Sofia and Pyongyang in 1984 and 1985, represent a strong basis of further strengthening and expanding friendly relations and comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries, for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Korean peoples, and thus have a great significance.

Let the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the WPK and the BCP, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DPRK, and the Bulgarian and Korean people strengthen and develop!

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DUTCH CHRISTIAN PARTY LEADER

AU111914 Sofia BTA in English 1732 GMT 11 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, 11 Sep (BTA)--Today State Council President Todor Zhivkov received Mr Piet Bukman, president of the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), the ruling party in the Netherlands, who is visiting this country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS).

During the meeting an emphasis was laid on the favorable conditions available for the promotion of political, economic and cultural ties between Bulgaria and Holand. It was stressed that the BZNS and the Christian Democratic Appeal Party can contribute actively to this by their contacts.

The two officials voicec concern over world tensions and the arms race. They observed that the only reasonable alternative to the nuclear war threat is the policy of peaceful co-existence, of detente and of fruitful dialogue among countries of different social systems.

Mr Todor Zhivkov brought into prominence Bulgaria's consistent constructive policy of good-neighbor relations and understanding in the Balkans, aimed at turning this region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone. He touched on the need of lowering the level of military confrontation in Europea and of building security and confidence in the continent.

The president of the State Council stressed the great significance of the new Soviet peace initiatives, advanced by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU. The hope was expressed that positive results can be achieved at the upcoming Soviet-American summit in Geneva if both sides are guided by the principle of parity and equal security of the states.

Taking part in the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES ETHIOPIA ON NATIONAL DAY

AU131405 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Sep 85 p 1, 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Ethiopian Workers Party Central Committee, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and commander in chief of the revolutionary armed forces of Socialist Ethiopia:

On the occasion of Socialist Ethiopia's national day I send you, the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party, the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the friendly Ethiopian people most cordial greetings in the name of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the whole Bulgarian people, and personally in my own name.

During the past 11-year period the heroic people of Ethiopia, overcoming numerous difficulties caused by international imperialism, has defended Ethiopia's national independence and territorial integrity, and in spite of grave natural disasters has achieved considerable results in its social and economic development.

The Bulgarian people value highly socialist Ethiopia's contribution to the struggle of all progressive and democratic forces in the world for peace and disarmament, and its constructive role in the Organization for African Unity, the nonaligned countries' movement and the United Nations organization.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria once again affirms its steadfast solidarity with the struggle of the fraternal Ethiopian people under the leadership of its fighting vanguard--the Ethiopian Workers Party--to fulfill the plans of the party's historic Constituent Congress and to achieve the aims of the revolution--the building of a socialist society in Ethiopia.

We note with a feeling of deep satisfaction the ascending development of Bulgarian-Ethiopian relations, which during recent years have been expanded and enriched on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1980. I express my confidence that the relations of friendship and cooperation which exist between the BCP and the Ethiopian Workers Party, and between the two countries and peoples, will continue in the future to grow deeper and stronger on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism, for peace, understanding and social progress throughout the world.

I wish you, dear Comrade Mengistu, and through you the friendly Ethiopian people, still greater successes in the building of the new life.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

TANCHEV RECEIVES DPRK AGRARIAN DELEGATION

AU161915 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 16 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, 16 Sep (BTA)--The secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), Mr Petur Tanchev, first vice president of the State Council, received a delegation of the Korean Agricultural Working People's Union led by Mr Pak Su Don, chairman of the Central Committee of the union. The delegation is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The meeting stressed the contribution of the leaders of the two countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kim Il-song, to the strengthening and deepening of the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and the DPRK.

Mr Petur Tanchev expressed Bulgaria's support for the constructive initiatives of the DPRK for establishing a climate of confidence and ease in the Korean peninsula and for unification of the country on a democratic basis.

The guests gave a high assessment to Bulgaria's achievements in socialist construction and to the active participation of the BZNS in it. They stressed the great contribution of Bulgaria's peaceful policy to good-neighborly relations and understanding, to the turning of the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The great and important role of the new Soviet initiatives for decreasing tension and armaments and for preventing the militarization of space was emphasized.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

TANCHEV RECEIVES ARAB AGRARIAN DELEGATION

AU172029 Sofia BTA in English 1727 GMT 17 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, 17 Sep (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice-president of the State Council, received a delegation of the All-Arab Peasants' Union led by the secretary general of the union, Mr Abd al-Rahman al-Tukabri, which is paying a visit to this country at the invitation of the standing committee of the BZNS.

Mr Petur Tanchev stressed that Bulgaria invariably supports the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and for liquidating the consequences of the Israeli aggression, for guaranteeing the irrevocable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and its right to found its own independent state.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the All-Arab Peasants' Union expressed full support to the series of constructive Soviet initiatives raised by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev for stopping the arms race on earth and for its prevention in space.

The guests expressed their gratitude to Bulgaria and the BZNS for their support to the national liberation struggle of the Arab peoples. They gave a high assessment to the great contribution of Bulgaria's peaceful policy directed towards understanding and goodneighborliness in the Balkans and towards the turning of this region into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

TANCHEV, TODOROV RECEIVE FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU182021 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 18 Sep 85

[Text] Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, received the visiting French delegation from the France-Bulgaria Friendship Group of the French parliament. He welcomed the guests on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council. During the talk the willingness of both sides was expressed to expand and intensify the cooperation between the two countries in various economic and other sectors.

The France-Bulgaria Friendship Group delegation of French parliamentarians was also received by Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

In briefing the guests on our country's achievements in various sectors of life, Comrade Todorov pointed out Bulgaria's readiness to further promote mutually advantageous cooperation with France. The same readiness was expressed on the French side. It was stressed that the contacts between the two parliaments are likely to contribute to a better mutual acquaintance of the two peoples, to expanding and intensifying the cooperation in economic and other activities.

The parliamentarians from the two countries expressed their concern about the existing tension in international relations. The French guest pointed out in particular the reservations of the French Government as regards the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative of the United States. They noted that France is following with interest the activities in connection with transforming the Balkans and other regions into nuclear-free zones.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES MOROCCO'S 'ALI YATA

AU191311 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Sofia, 19 Sep (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP, had a meeting today with Mr 'Ali Yata, secretary general of the parti du Progres et du Socialisme (PPS) of Morocco, who is on a holiday in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the BCP.

The two leaders expressed their deep concern over the continuing dangerous strain in the international relations, because of the hegemonic activities of the world imperialism and above all of the most reactionary circles in the USA. The two sides stressed the urgent necessity to step up the union of action of all democratic and peace loving forces for realizing a turning point from confrontation to detente, for saving mankind from a nuclear holocaust.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and 'Ali Yata unanimously condemned the aggressive actions of Israel supported by the USA, which lie in the basis of the explosive situation existing in the Middle East. They reaffirmed their conviction that an overall settlement of the Middle East issue can be achieved only by the united efforts of all interest countries, the PLO included. Both party leaders repeated their support to the Soviet Union's proposal for summoning of an international conference on the Middle East, emphasizing that the implementation of the national rights of the Palestinian people, as well as their right to establish their own independent state, should be integral part from the settlement of the Middle East issue. They voiced their conviction that all separate deals, which ignore this vital question, are directed against the interests of the Arab peoples and practically aim at ruining the efforts for establishing of just and durable peace in this region.

Mr Dimitir Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP, took part in the meeting.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

DHZUROV ATTENDS ANNIVERSARY CEREMONY

AU201147 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 20 Sep 85

[Text] On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the formation of the Bulgarian People's Army, today bouquets of flowers were laid at the Georgi Dimitrov mausoleum by officials from the Ministry of National Defense, the ministry of Internal Affairs, the Sofia City Party Committee, the City Committee of Fighters against Fascism and Capitalism, the city leadership of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council, and the city administration of [two words indistinct].

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov and Dimitur Stoyanov, Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee, deputy ministers from the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs, general officers of the Bulgarian People's Army, and also Colonel General Aleksandr Zvertsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, and military attaches of the fraternal socialist countries accredited to Bulgaria. Those present at the ceremony paid respect to Georgi Dimitrov's remains, and wreaths were also laid at the memorial to the Unknown Soldier and the common military grave in the city.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

PREMIER FILIPOV VISITS BURGAS OKRUG

AU211952 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Sep 85

[Text] Comrade Grisha Filipov made a 2-day visit to Burgas Okrug. At an expanded meeting of the Bureau of the BCP Burgas Okrug committee, the executive committee of the Burgas Okrug People's Council, and the Okrug Staff on Implementing the Counterplan, Nikolay Zhisev, first secretary of the BCP Burgas Okrug Committee, gave information on the results achieved by the okrug's economy during the first eight months of the year, and on the measures adopted on implementing the annual 5-year plans.

In his speech Comrade Grisha Filipov stressed the importance of intensifying the work pace, paying special attention to increasing the social productivity of labor, increasing industrial production, saving raw materials and other materials, and mobilizing the efforts of the working collectives for worthily greeting the 13th BCP Congress.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers visited the port complex, where leaders of plants of the Burgas Transportation Complex reported on the implementation of tasks.

At a meeting with economic and party leaders from the agro-industrial complexes in Nesebur, Pomorie, and Burgas, Comrade Grisha Filipov was briefed on harvesting and utilizing the crops.

CSO: 2200/1

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

URUGUAY'S SEREGNI VISIT--Sofia, September 30 (BTA)--General Liber Seregni, leader of the Frente Amplio coalition in Uruguay, met here today with Mr Sava Dulbokov, first deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, with whom he discussed the possibilities for the promotion of ties between the two organisations. Stressing his conviction that this personal contact will help expand the cooperation between the two fronts and put it on a permanent basis, Gen Seregni laid emphasis on the great importance of the exchange of views both on international issues and on the situation in the two countries. At his meeting today the leader of Uruguay's frente Amplio spoke about the political situation in his country and about developments in Central America. He condemned the attempts of imperialism to impose its own line on the home and foreign policies of the states in that region. The guests showed keen interest in the experience of the Fatherland Front in mobilizing the bored popular masses to active participation in Bulgaria's socio-economic development. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1559 GMT 30 Sep 85 AU]

EDUCATION MINISTER IN SOFIA--Education minister Apostolos Kaklamanis arrived in Sofia today for an official visit at the invitation of his Bulgarian counterpart Aleksandur Fol. During their first meeting, Kaklamanis and Fol exchanged views on bilateral educational matters. Kaklamanis visited Sofia University this afternoon and met with Georgi Bliznakov, university rector and academician. [Text] [Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1830 GMT 23 Sep 85 NC]

VLADIMIR ZHIVKOV VISITS INDIA--New Delhi, September 27 (BTA)--The delegation headed by Mr Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy president of the Committee for Culture and president of the Council of the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" International Foundation, completed its visit to India. Mr Vladimir Zhivkov had meetings with Mr Arun Nehru, minister of home affairs and one of the co-founders of the foundation with Mr M S Bhagat, secretary of the all-India Fine Arts and Crafts Organization, with world famous painter Svyatoslav Roerih and with other prominent representatives of the Indian Cultural Public and business circles. The delegation was received by the chief minister of the Kerala state Mr Rama Krishna Hedge. The talks centered on the broadening of the cultural relations between the two countries, on the intensification of the cultural exchange and the exchange of objects of art. All participants supported the idea to establish a foundation's friend group in India. Mr Bhagat announced the

decision of the Punjab Academy of Arts to found an annual award bearing the name of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova. The award will be given every year to an Indian painter. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 27 Sep 85 AU]

HUNGARIAN DOMESTIC TRADE MINISTER--Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and trade for mass consumer goods, received Zoltan Juhar, Hungarian minister of domestic trade. During the meeting they discussed questions pertaining to the further expansion of mutual cooperation in the domestic trade sector, the exchange of goods, and cooperation in the public catering sector. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 24 Sep 85 AU]

CULTURAL DELEGATION TO MOSCOW--A cultural delegation led by Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Committee on Culture, departed today for the USSR. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 29 Sep 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV MEETS SOVIET WRITER--Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Georgiy Markov, first secretary of the Soviet Writers Union. Comrade Todor Zhivkov cordially congratulated the well-known writer on the occasion of the great Bulgarian literary prize "Sofia-85", which was recently presented to him. During the talk, which proceeded in an exceptionally cordial and comradely atmosphere, the importance of cooperation and mutual contacts between writers of the two countries -- as well as among writers from all over the world -- for the cause of peace and understanding among peoples, was particularly stressed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Sep 85 AU]

LEADERS' MESSAGE TO LAO COUNTERPARTS--Vientiane, September 28 (KPL)--Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the LPRP CC, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Souphanouvong, president of the Lao PDR, have received a message of thanks from the Bulgarian leaders. The message, jointly signed by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP CC, president of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, conveyed sincere thanks to the Lao leaders for their message of congratulations on the 41st anniversary of the victory of the Bulgarian socialist revolution. The Bulgarian leaders, in their message, expressed their hope for further development of the combative solidarity, fraternal friendship and cooperation between the parties and peoples of the two countries for the interests of the two peoples and for world peace and socialism. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0859 GMT 28 Sep 85 BK]

RETURN TO 'ASTRONOMIC TIME'--Sofia, September 27 (BTA)--Bulgaria will return to astronomic time at 24:00 hours on September 28, Saturday. All clocks will be moved back by one hour. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1522 GMT 27 Sep 85 AU]

YUGOSLAV-BULGARIAN COMMODITY EXCHANGE--Sofia, September 28 (TANJUG)--In the first eight months this year commodity exchange between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria amounted to 174 million dollars both ways, with export to Bulgaria amounting to 95 million and import from Bulgaria to 79 million. As against

the same eight-month period last year, Yugoslav exports went up by 27 percent and Yugoslav imports by 20 percent. Representatives of the Yugoslav economy here consider that the value of the two countries' commodity exchange could reach 300 million dollars by this year's end. Falls in Bulgaria's production and the narrowing of its capital investment front made an unfavourable impact on economic cooperation with Yugoslavia. Assurances have come from the Bulgarian side, however, of increasing interest in long-term economic cooperation with Yugoslavia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0028 GMT 28 Sep 85 LD]

SOVIET MEDALS FOR VETERANS--Belgrade--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has presented jubilee medals "40 years of victory in the great patriotic war from 1941-1945" to eminent Yugoslav political, state and army leaders, the active participants in the national liberation war of Yugoslavia. Nikolay Rodionov, ambassador of the USSR to the SFRY, attended a ceremony organized on this occasion in the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade and presented these medals to a number of Yugoslav officials. People's hero Vlado Scekic, member of the Subnational Board Presidium, expressed his gratitude on behalf of those decorated. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 27 Sep 85 LD]

VELIBOR LJUJIC DIES--Belgrade--On the occasion of the death of Velibor Ljubic, member of the Council of the Federation, Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, extended a telegram of condolence to the Ljubic family [Excerpts] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 27 Sep 85 LD]

ZHIVKOV GREETINGS TO YAR--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a telegram to 'Ali' Abdallah Salih, president of the Yemen Arab Republic, in which most sincere greetings are sent on the occasion of the country's National Day. Confidence is expressed that the relations between the two friendly countries will continue to develop on a mutually beneficial basis, in the interests of peace and international understanding. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 85 p 1 AU]

SOVIET ACADEMICIAN MARKOV VISIT--Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received academician Georgiy Markov, director of the Institute of Slavonic and Balkan Studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences. The guest was briefed on certain topical issues of Bulgaria's socioeconomic and cultural development. They discussed opportunities of further cooperation between Bulgarian and Soviet social sciences scholars. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 18 Sep 85 AU]

MONGOLIAN DEPUTY PREMIER RECEIVED--On 30 September Comrade Grisha Filipov received Myatabyn Peljee, deputy chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Mongolian side of the Bulgarian-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-technological Cooperation. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 30 Sep 85 AU]

SOFIA NATIONAL CONFERENCE--At the Sofia "Universiada" hall a national conference was held which was attended by the party, state, economic and social

aktiv. The conference was attended by the members and candidate members of the Politburo; the secretaries of the BCP Central Committee; the chairman and the members of the Bureau of BCP the Central Control-Auditing Commission; the Secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] permanent board and the members of BZNS permanent board; by the deputy chairmen of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, and of the National Assembly, by the chief of departments of the BCP Central Committee; by the first secretaries of the BCP Okrug committees; by ministers and leaders of other central departments as well as leaders of the central leaderships of sociopolitical organization; by chairmen of the executive committees of the Okrug People's Councils; by representatives of economic trusts; directors of plants, combines, and others. Representatives of the Central Mass Media were also among those present. Comrade Todor Zhivkov read a report on certain issues connected with the preparations for the 13th BCP congress and on the Ninth 5-Year Plan. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 85 AU]

TANCHEV-LED DELEGATION TO POLAND--At the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Committee of Poland's ZSL, a delegation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] led by Petur Tanchev, BZNS secretary and first deputy chairman of the State Council, departed on 22 September for Warsaw, where it will take part in the 90th anniversary of Poland's organized peasant's movement and in the international meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations, which will take place there. At Sofia airport the delegation was sent off by secretaries and members on the BZNS permanent board, and by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Wladislaw Napieraj, Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 85 AU]

BZNS DEPARTS FOR POLAND--The delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union led by Comrade Petur Tanchev returned from Warsaw. At the invitation of the Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee, the delegation took part in the celebrations marking the 90th anniversary of Poland's organized peasant movement, and in the international meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations which took place in Warsaw. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 25 Sep 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES CSSR AMBASSADOR--Yesterday Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received Jaroslav Hejna, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the CSSR to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from Bulgaria. The meeting, held in a cordial friendly atmosphere, was attended by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Sep 85 p 1]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES DANISH DELEGATION--Sofia, 20 Sep (BTA)--Today Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received the Danish Parliamentary delegation visiting this country, led by the Chairman of the Folketing Mr. Swend Jacobsen. Mr. Todor Zhivkov stressed his belief that the visit of the Danish parliamentarians and the talks between the foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Denmark will give a new impetus to the development of the bilateral relations. The guests subscribed

to Mr. Todor Zhivkov's opinion that there are possibilities for a wide-ranging promotion of the Bulgaro-Danish cooperation especially in the economic sphere. Both sides expressed the wish for seeking new spheres for developing contacts. They expressed concern over the recent developments in the international situation and pointed to the necessity to maintain the dialogue between the countries in the name of peace and security in the world. They noted that each country, no matter whether it is big or small can contribute to the struggle for the preservation of peace and for stopping the arms race. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 20 Sep 85]

LIBYAN NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION--Omar Muftakh Dallal [spelling of name as published], secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan Arab People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in Bulgaria, gave a reception yesterday evening in the "Sofiya" restaurant on the occasion of his country's national day. The reception was attended by Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; leaders of public-political organizations, and chiefs and members of diplomatic missions. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Sep 85 p 8]

VLADIMIR ZHIVKOV VISITS SINGAPORE--Tokyo, 19 Sep (BTA)--A delegation led by Mr. Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture and chairman of the Council of the International "Ludmila Zhivkova" Foundation, arrived on a visit to Singapore. At the meetings with Mr. Tay End Sun, minister for education and Mr. Chan Git Kun, minister for national development, issues on the cultural cooperation and exchange between Bulgaria and Singapore were discussed and the possibilities for their broadening were considered. The Singapore side was familiarized with the aims and activities of the International Foundation "Ludmila Zhivkova" as well as with the International "Banner of Peace" Children's Assembly, which took place in Sofia this year. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0702 GMT 19 Sep 85]

TALKS WITH DANISH DELEGATION--Sofia, 19 Sep (BTA)--The Danish Parliamentary delegation, which arrived here today, headed by Mr. Svend Jakobsen, chairman of the Folketing, started its talks with a delegation of the Bulgarian Assembly headed by its chairman Mr. Stanko Todorov. The two sides of the talks expressed their assurance that this meeting will be of use not only for the improvement of the Bulgaro-Danish relations, but also for the consolidation of peace in the world. They shared the view that the cooperation between Bulgaria and Denmark is developing well and that there are good prospects for its broadening and deepening. Voicing their concern over the continuing exacerbation of the international situation, Mr. Stanko Todorov and Mr. Svend Jakobsen expressed their hopes in regard to the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in Geneva. The Bulgarian and Danish members of Parliament exchanged views on a wide range of issues related to the parliamentary activities in the two countries and on the problems which have to be solved in different fields. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1759 GMT 19 Sep 85]

16 October 1985

MLADENOV MEETS DANISH LEADER--On 19 September Petur Mladenov, who is making an official visit to Denmark, met Jorgen Jense, chairman of the Danish Communist Party. Minister Petur Mladenov conveyed to the leader of the Danish communists the cordial greetings of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and his wishes for successes on the part of the Danish Communist Party. On his part Comrade Jorgen Jense sent Comrade Todor Zhivkov warmest fraternal cordial greetings and wishes for successes on the part of the BCP and the Bulgarian people. During the talk, information was exchanged on the activities of the BCP and the Danish Communist Party at the present stage. Some problems of the world situation and matters related to the world communist and workers' movement were discussed. Afterward the official visit of Comrade Petur Mladenov to Denmark ended. At Copenhagen airport he was cordially seen off by his Danish colleague, Uffe Ellemann-Jense, and by high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 19 Sep 85]

VLADIMIR ZHIVKOV IN PHILIPPINES--Tokyo, 16 Sep (BTA)--A delegation led by Mr. Vladimir Zhivkov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture and chairman of the Council of the International Foundation "Lyudmila Zhivkova", had been on a visit in the Philippines. At the meetings with Mr. Ferdinand Marcos, president of the Philippines, and his wife, with Mr. Jaime Laya, minister of education, culture and sports, and with other prominent public figures and workers in the sphere of culture, the possibilities for broadening of the cooperation and exchange in the sphere of culture were discussed. The Philippine side was familiarized with the aims and activities of the "Lyudmila Zhivkova" Foundation, which was of great interest to them. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1607 GMT 16 Sep 85]

SOCIOLOGICAL CONFERENCE IN VARNA--A national scientific-practical conference opened in Varna. It is devoted to the "Social Effectiveness of Empirical Sociological Research." The conference was inaugurated by Academician Niko Yakhiel, chairman of the Bulgarian Sociological Association. "Guests of the conference are distinguished representatives of Sociological departments in the Soviet Union, the CSSR, and Poland. Corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Stoyan Mikhaylov read an extensive paper on the main report of the conference, devoted to the subject of empirical sociological research in Bulgaria--problems and achievements--worked out by corresponding member Stoyan Mikhaylov and by Docent Boris Chatalov." [Summary] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 Sep 85]

ALEKSANDROV, STOICHKOV IN KOZLODUY--The builders and workers of the Kozloduy nuclear power station have accomplished a new important assembly operation. They have erected a large and powerful crane and assembled it upon the 1000-megawatt reactor. The same collective of workers also commissioned a large polar (polyaren) crane for the servicing of technological processes. "On this occasion the Comrades

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Grigor Stoichkov; as well as Nikola Todoriev, minister of power supply; and Svetoazar Popov, first secretary of the Vratsa Okrug BCP Committee were present." The collective presented to Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov a report and pledge addressed to the BCP Central Committee. At the ensuing meeting Engineer Oved Tadzher, representative of the Council of Ministers Bureau and chief of the construction works, reported on the process of work and on the progress of the construction and assembly work at block five of the Kozloduy nuclear power station. The fulfillment of the social program and the state of the trade and everyday life services on the construction site and in the town of Kozloduy were also discussed. [Summary] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Sep 85]

ZAREV IN TURNOVO OKRUG--The work of the party, state, and economic organs and organizations in implementing the BCP December program on increasing the standard of living in Veliko Turnovo Okrug, was discussed in a detailed and comprehensive manner at the plenum of the BCP Veliko Turnovo Okrug Committee, which took place today. Comrade Kiril Zarev dwelled on the requirements of the BCP Central Committee February plenum on further developing the economy in a dynamic manner, increasing production quality, and revealing in good time and utilizing the most modern achievements of scientific-technological progress. The plenum adopted a decision on the matter discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 85]

BULGARIAN-SFRY BORDER FAIR--Blagoevgrad, 8 Sep (RABOTNICHESKO DELO)--The traditional fair of Bulgarian-SFRY friendship took place on 8 September in Simitli under the slogan "Peace, Cooperation, Socialism." The working people of the border settlements of Simitli and Delchevo took part in the fair. After playing the national anthems of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY, the chairmen of the commissions on conducting the fair, Simeon Tuparov and Dimitur Mavrodiev, addressed the thousands of participants. A rich concert program was implemented by artistic groups from the two countries. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 85 p 8]

DZHUROV ATTENDS ARMY DAY EVENT--A festive meeting was held at the Central Club of the People's Army in Sofia today to mark the 41st anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Army. The celebration was attended by the Comrades Dobri Dzhurov and Stoyan Mikhaylov, by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; by Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee "Social and National Security" department; by deputy ministers of the Ministry of Defense, as well as by generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Military attaches accredited to our country and other officials also attended. A report was read by Colonel General Boris Karamfilov, deputy minister of national defense. He dwelled on the heroic battles which the Young Bulgarian People's Army fought side by side with the Soviet soldiers against the Hitler invaders. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 20 Sep 85]

YORDANOV RECEIVES SAARLAND MINISTER--Sofia, 16 Sep (BTA)--Mr. Georgi Yordanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and president of the Committee for Culture, received today Mr. Dieter Breitenbach, minister of culture, science and education of Saarland (FRG). Matters of mutual interest were discussed. The meeting was attended by Mr. Aleksandur Fol, minister of people's education of Bulgaria. [Text]
[Sofia BTA in English 1110 GMT 16 Sep 85]

CSO: 2200/1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL TALKS WITH ROMANIA--The present state of goods exchange between the CSSR and Romania and the prospects of its development in connection with preparations of a long-term trade agreement for the years 1986-90 were discussed in Brno yesterday by Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade, and Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation of the Socialist Republic of Romania. In Brno yesterday, V. Pungan was also received by Milan Kubat, CSSR minister of the electrotechnical industry; Eduard Saul, CSSR minister of metallurgy and heavy engineering; and Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering. They discussed the improvement of mutual cooperation among the enterprises of the two countries and the development of specialization and production sharing in engineering branches and in the electro-technical industry. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

VIETNAMESE WORKERS--About 5,500 young people from Vietnam received their training in industrial enterprises of the North Moravia region in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Sep 85 p 2 AU]

DELEGATION IN DAMASCUS--(CTK)--A Czechoslovak delegation, led by J. Jung, minister of interior of the Czech SR, arrived in Damascus by air at the invitation of M. Harba, minister of local administration of the Arab Republic of Syria. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

JOURNALISTS' DELEGATION IN HELSINKI--Jan Risko, Central Committee chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union and Central Director of the Czechoslovak Radio, is attending the international conference of journalists which was opened on 7 September in Helsinki; the theme of the conference is "10 Years After the All-European Conference in Helsinki--Journalists and Detente." So far the course of the conference has affirmed the differing views on the approach to the most significant issues of today. Moscow PRAVDA commentator V. Korionov stressed the journalists' honorable duty to devote all their talent and means to averting the ruin of human civilization; W. Pfaff, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE commentator, stressed the purely individual aspects of journalist activity. J. Risko stressed that the CSSR media are fulfilling the commitments undertaken by the country in journalism. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

AID TO IRAQ--According to Eng Pavol Halek, head of the foreign relations division of the Ground Construction Enterprise in Presov, 132 employees of the enterprise are working on the irrigation, drainage, and road system combined with the recultivation of soil in Abu Ghrabi, Iraq. The CSSR's involvement in the project amounts to Kcs411 million. [Summary] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 10 Sep 85 p 7 AU]

INTERNATIONAL MINEWORKERS ORGANIZATION--A new International Mineworkers Organization uniting miners' unions of 40 countries of 5 continents was established in Paris yesterday. When concluding its session, the 2-day conference, which was attended by trade union members of 34 states, including Czechoslovakia, approved the statutes of this new organization. Arthur Scargill, president of the British National Union of Mineworkers, was elected to its top post. The establishment of the International Mineworkers Organization represents a significant step toward strengthening the unity of the trade union movement on an international scale. It will enable the activities of miners' unions to be coordinated with increased efficiency. Its aims were reflected also in nine approved resolutions, in which the participants gave their support to peace and disarmament, expressed their views on the issue of developing countries and their indebtedness, and renounced the practices of multinational companies in the capitalist world. Vladimir Polednik, chairman of the Mining and Power Industry Workers Trade Union Central Committee, led the Czechoslovak delegation to this conference. [Text] [LD230938 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0230 GMT 23 Sep 85]

CSO: 2400/613

HUNGARY

TRADE UNION ELECTIONS TO FOCUS ON 'IMPROVED WORK'

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Sep 85 p 1

[Editorial by Erno Keseru: "Protection of Interests"]

[Text] The trade union elections are starting today everywhere in the country. The collectives of the industrial plants, cooperatives, and institutions will vote for about 600,000 functionaries, beginning with the stewards, through the sectoral managing organs, all the way to electing the national council. A great countrywide discussion will start with this, giving a possibility for the atmosphere of the working place and for the circumstances under which the tasks must be solved to be taken under a thorough examination everywhere. But, besides the balance of the work of 5 years, obviously there will also be talk about how in a given enterprise or cooperative trade union work could be better adopted to local characteristics.

Those who nowadays join--or rejoin--the trade union, usually ask: "What does the trade union give?" Its role in awarding the various social benefits is well known: in distributing the placement tickets to vacation resorts, in taking care of the meals given at the enterprise, in the helping actions, and we could go on enumerating for a long time. It cannot give more today, either, than it used to, and in some working places not even as much. This is explained not only by the more difficult economic circumstances but also by the fact that certain social benefits were put under the jurisdiction of the state organs proper for them. And, as the trade unions became free of these chores, today they can better concentrate on the essence of their activity. Because their main task is, after all, that the trade union should be, at every working place, a community representing social strength and enjoying social confidence, well able to reconcile interests, standing guard that a tension-free relationship should develop between employees and economic managers.

With the aim of improving trade union work, the demand is often voiced: their autonomy should be further strengthened. The idea is correct and nothing stands in its way, only the possibilities offered by the laws and regulations must be exploited. But in many places people do not want or are lazy to innovate, to initiate. Certain actions they only

dare to start with if they are stimulated from above also, if somewhere other people have already beaten the path. True, greater independent activity can bring to the stewards and other functionaries not only recognition, but can also cause more headaches, and it also demands the shouldering of conflicts. For, also in this respect, democracy is not a one-way street, where the trade union works with more autonomy, there it also must take greater responsibility upon itself.

This independent action can, for example, manifest itself also in whether at the present elections they will be satisfied with the methods employed up to now--as far as nomination and voting is concerned--or whether they will employ that form which was successful and had a mobilizing strength at the latest elections of representatives and council members. Judging from the signs, decision will fall in many places for the new form, multiple nomination, because by this the people fit for the offices, who are generally respected, can better be brought to the surface. But this direction is also indicated by the fact that, as a consequence of the differentiation in material things, in income, opinions and evaluations diverge more. Brave stepping forward, sincere showing of one's true colors cannot characterize people everywhere today, either, but this time let us not go into it, in how far, in the given place, this is a human frailty and in how far this is the consequence of bad managerial methods, of a tense atmosphere at the working place. In such places people surely would be glad to use the possibility of a secret ballot.

Surely at the elections there will also be talk about the idea that the trade unions should pay more attention to step work. It looks like a promising practice to establish committees and details with the task of observing the work and life conditions of certain strata. It is justified that within an individual sector special attention should be given, for example, to those doing heavy physical work, to certain groups of professionals, to young people starting on their careers, to those who live in dier circumstances.

As economic democracy is growing, the protection of interests must be enforced in a broader area. The greater scope means, however, not only putting the demands into words, a list of desiderata, not only for more frequent clashes with economic management, but it also assumes a closer cooperation in the interest of the common goal. A realistic protection of interests starts in production.

This current year--on the level of national economy--promises to be even more difficult than the previous ones. The semiannual balances contain a warning: great exertions of strength are necessary for starting the new 5-year plan beginning next year from good foundations and for being able to at least maintain the standard of living. That is why it is necessary to see and to make other people see what a closed chain is formed by production, price and wages both in the enterprises and in national economy. The main purpose is served in

many places also by the regrouping of the working force, which is becoming more and more frequent. A major change in production structure affects thousands of people and demands that they should learn a new profession or change their working place. Wherever this has come about so far, according to the signs, it has not caused any major human problems, loss of cheer. Because in our country everybody clearly knows that the security of existence on the societal level is not in danger.

It was said in the concluding words at the most recent congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: "In Hungary we have those institutions and forums which always can help people in trouble, and they do, too." I believe that the Hungarian trade unions are standing on a high level, also in this respect.

12772

CSO: 2500/544

16 October 1985

HUNGARY

ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE SUITS PROSECUTED UNDER 1976, 1978 LAWS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jul 85 p 5

[Article by Erzsebet Juhasz: "Environmental Damage Suits"]

[Text] According to the environmental law published in 1976 serious damage to the environment is considered a criminal act. In 1978 the Penal Code divided this into two criminal acts, and since that time the courts have handled environmental as well as nature-damage suits. In our article we discuss some conclusions one can draw from these.

Public opinion was somewhat sceptical about the announcement some time ago that those who damage the environment will be punished. No one in Hungary will be convicted, said most people. That is not what has happened.

The proof emerges from our conversation, next to a thick collection of papers, with Laszlo Biro, Deputy Director of the Executive and Legal Division of the National Bureau for the Protection of the Environment and Nature.

Where is the Sequel?

Considering that damage to the environment has not been a crime for a long time and that the courts are overloaded with work, such cases are not infrequent, says Laszlo Biro by way of an introduction. The courts take crimes seriously even if they were committed out of carelessness or ignorance, and there have been enforced imprisonment sentences, though admittedly only as the result of a cumulation of crimes. Severity is justified because the protection of the environment is a question of life and death, and society has less and less patience with those who damage and pollute the environment. There are, however, more instances of environmental damage than court cases. It can also be observed that cases concerning damage to nature are more frequent than those related to environmental damage, even though the latter are more harmful to society. Damage to nature is really a subcategory of environmental damage. In my opinion, it is a crime if one destroys a protected plant or animal, but it may be more damaging if 3200 kilograms of phosgene gas is released into the atmosphere, as was the case in a suit a few years ago. In this case many plants and birds have died and almost fifty people were poisoned.

We look at the papers relating to this case. Upon reading it it looks like a good learning experience from many points of view. The destruction of phosgene (a war gas in the First World War) was entrusted by a pharmaceutical company to the bottle-control section of a collective farm. A total of 108 bottles were handed over for "venting", but it was not mentioned that many were full or half-full. The company was not interested in the fact that the cooperative farm had neither the permission nor the technology to do this. According to the opinion voiced at the hearing, there is no technology for this anywhere in Hungary.

The court was correct in convicting the culpable workers of the cooperative farm but in explaining its action it has remarked that their responsibility was only indirect. "...direct responsibility belongs to those managers of the company who were not even implicated by the investigation, were never indicted by the prosecution but who must have known about the dangers associated with phosgene..."

In several other cases one can read about a similar attribution of direct responsibility. For example, in the criminal case that has caused heavy damage when lead-scrap, which was unloaded at a railway station next to sliced beets used as fodder, poisoned and killed 36 cattle of two cooperative farms. The damage was almost a million and a half forints, the loss of profits more than two million. The lead had also contaminated the soil and well-water in many places. This damage, that is, the cost of exchanging the soil ran into additional millions.

The court has noted that besides the accused, the directors of the company were also responsible because while they recognized the danger they did not do everything to avoid it, as Laszlo Biro indicates pointing to the appropriate sentences in the document. They did not provide for the collection and storage of the contaminating substance, citing financial and other difficulties and the necessity of completing the requirements of the "plan." Since the responsibility of the company as such was clearly determined, this mitigated the responsibility of the accused and they received lighter sentences.

This is understandable. I am looking among the documents of newer cases to see if the law has caught up with those truly responsible. No trace of it. Laszlo Biro tells me to not even try, there have been no new suits in these two cases. Unfortunately, one learns that it is not always the most guilty who are prosecuted.

Let's look now at some nature-damage suits. In some of these one can readily predict the outcome. For example, within the Hortobagy National Park a chief hunter, two game wardens and a retired member of a cooperative farm have set fire to a marshy section in order to eradicate varminths. The vegetation burned to the extent of 70 percent over 20 to 25 hectares and the protected birds have lost their nesting and living area. The accused had no permission to start a fire. The court based its sentence on the fact that this deed has damaged the protected area and has upset its ecological unity.

Still, the killing of protected birds and animals, their collection, or the destruction of protected plants often remains undetected. How are these crimes discovered, since after all, many such suits are conducted?

Sometimes, interestingly, this is a matter of chance. Once a crime syndicate was discovered that killed protected and endangered birds and sent them abroad when a routine highway check was made by the police. A car with a foreign tag was stopped. The papers of the driver were in the trunk, and, unfortunately for him, the birds as well. Some cases are started via informers but many of these are only violations of published regulations. Publicity is missing in this area and people do not know what is considered a crime and what is merely a violation of the regulations.

In another document I read that 16 people were convicted because they had an unregistered taxidermist prepare protected birds that were collected after they suffered a natural death. It can be easily understood that somebody is fined because he kills a protected bird, but why is the preparation of the skins of birds that are already dead a crime?

In this case there was a summary judgment concerning the more serious offence and the violation of the rules says Laszlo Biro. Here the order to have the skins stuffed is considered the violation of the regulations. One needs the permission of the Environmental Protection Agency for this purpose, even if the birds are dead.

Missing Civil Cases

Is there a way to prevent further damage, pollution and danger with a legal suit?

Yes, with a civil suit. There are strict rules governing the restitution to be paid for damage already done. The only way to avoid the responsibility for making restitution is for the person accused of environmental damage to prove successfully that the damage was beyond his control, due to inevitable causes. Otherwise, civil law has definite rules to apply to the people or bodies that have direct responsibility in cases of environmental damage.

Have there been such civil suits?

Very few. I only know about attempts at this.

There is no question about it, these missing civil suits would have a real impact.

12846

CSO: 2500/502

POLAND

ZSL OFFICIAL ON SEJM COALITION, PLATFORM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Aug 85 p 3

[Interview with Prof (Dr) Jozef Kukulka, ZSL member and candidate for Sejm deputy, by Andrzej Golaszewski: "Establishing a Climate of Confidence"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] Interviewer: You are active in politics and you are also a political scientist. You began your political activity in your youth as a member of "Wici" [rural youth organization] and were one of the co-founders of ZMW [Rural Youth Union] in 1956. You then turned to activity of a somewhat theoretical nature, concerning yourself scientifically with political relations problems, both domestic and international. Let us talk, therefore, about what politics is in social life.

[Question] It is being said that the future Sejm will represent the current arrangement of political and social forces on which socialist renewal is based. That it will symbolize and affirm the ideas of national accord. The word "coalition" is being used. On what does this coalition depend?

[Answer] First of all, we must say that the essence of a coalition system of exercising authority is newness. Not so much newness of goals as newness of methods and forms of exercising authority. Both previously as well as now, the goals were socialist transformations. However, the failure of the authorities to subject themselves to the control of the citizens, their arrogance and failure to take into account the various needs and interests of the people, evoked very strong criticism in 1980 and 1981. A coalition system of governing, therefore, envisages that a larger number of representatives of existing social classes and groups will, in a more balanced way, influence political decisionmaking on the national level, in the Sejm, as well as in the voivodships and gminas. It is this collective participation in representative bodies, the existence of partnership relations between them, which is of key importance for the new style of governing, for the establishment of a climate of confidence, and for the expression and association of diverse interests.

[Question] In an interview with you I cannot fail to ask you about the difference in interests and points of view between workers and peasants, between the city and the countryside, and between different occupational groups.

[Answer] In a coalition system, the point is not to put the interests of one class or group above those of the others, but, insofar as possible, to combine them in a reasonable and equitable way. Reasonable in the economic sense as well as in the sense of being able to exert political and social influence.

[Question] We reach the area of government-citizen relations and the problem of lawfulness.

[Answer] Lawfulness which is understood to be the observance of the law by governmental bodies as well the sum total of citizens' duties and obligations. Those are two interrelated processes, extremely strongly interwoven with the style of governing. It is no accident, therefore, that now, during the pre-election campaign, so much is being said on this subject. Lawfulness and implementation of different interests guarantees that the fundamental goals of the political system will be attained. These goals, on the other hand, envisage that the needs of the two basic social classes, the workers and the peasants, will be satisfied. A worker-peasant alliance, therefore, is the political axis of our system, and it must be reflected in the work of the Sejm.

[Question] You are speaking in generalities, of the bases and assumptions of the political system. Would you please illustrate this with specific examples.

[Answer] Of course. Let us consider the disproportions between the possibilities of expansion in industry and agriculture, and working and living conditions in the cities and in the countryside. The goals agreed upon by the PZPR and the ZSL envisage that these conditions will be equalized over a long time frame, because under the present economic conditions the disproportions mentioned cannot be equalized rapidly. Thus the political parties do not appear here as regional representatives of their classes, attempting to gain what they can for themselves, but as representatives of the interests of the countryside and the towns, the farmers and the workers, taking into account national and state needs. This combining of interests is connected with the lawfulness, about which I spoke, with good management, with confidence in the government, and with the building of a strong state.

[Question] I believe that this work ethic is strongly rooted even today in the countryside. But now the countryside no longer wants to lag behind the urban areas. It wants to benefit equally in the achievements. It wants to be an equal partner. Undoubtedly these problems will clearly be raised during your meetings with the voters. What will you say to those attending the pre-elections meetings?

[Answer] We must implement the joint interparty agreements and political directives, as well as the regulations which will become laws. Not until we have a stable farm policy will we have profitable agriculture, the desired flow of financial, technical and chemical assistance for agriculture. We will then be able to talk realistically about fulfilling these obvious demands. This has been shown by the examples of many countries, which resolved their food problem themselves, in their own countries. Where investment in agriculture was made in time, difficulties with the flow of supplies were conclusively resolved, and agriculture became an important driving branch of the economy, important even in the shaping of the foreign-trade balance.

And insofar as the economic area is concerned, today, above all, we need to establish correct prices on farm products and we need adequate amounts of industrial means of production. Then--because, after all, that is the assumption of joint farm policy--we can ensure that farm incomes will grow just as wages in the cities grow, and we can evoke pro-production attitudes among the representatives of the younger generation in the countryside.

9295

CSO: 2600/1063

16 October 1985

POLAND

WARSAW PZPR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] The executive committee of the Warsaw PZPR Committee met on 29 August. It made an assessment of the effectiveness of the party work of the neighborhood PZPR committees and the regional party work centers during the first half of 1985 and the numerical state of the Warsaw party organization.

The members of the executive committee and the first secretaries of the neighborhood committees and the leaders of the regional party work centers invited to the meeting pointed, during the discussion, to events and problems which help to improve work efficiency and make it easier for every primary and chapter party organization to exert influence on the community. Shortcomings in the work of the gmina, town and neighborhood echelons were also examined and methods of eliminating these shortcomings were sought.

It was stressed many times that a great deal has already been done, as shown by the fact, for example, that over 1,500 candidates were taken into the party this year. Among them were over 500 young people. It was emphasized that regularity and consistency are work methods which should steadily improve the effectiveness of operations.

The executive committee made some recommendations which should be considered in party work during the second half of this year. It was also decided that similar evaluations will be made twice a year.

Next on the agenda the executive committee listened to reports on the participation of Warsaw youth in the 12th World Youth and Student Festival in Moscow.

The meeting was conducted by Marian Wozniak, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee.

9292

CSO: 2600/1063

POLAND

SELF-MANAGEMENT DEFINED, PROBLEMS NOTED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Irena Dryll: "A Portrait of Self-Management"]

[Text] Towards the end of July and at the beginning of August, several important meetings, including the final meeting of the Sejm (31 July) this term, were held on the subject of workers' self-management. Whether anyone likes it or not, self-management is here. It exists and is functioning. As shown in the report on the state of economic reform at the end of 1984, submitted to the Sejm, workforce self-managements existed in 6,403 enterprises. This means that self-management is functioning in approximately 87 percent of the enterprises authorized to have it, enterprises which employ approximately 5.5 million workers.

Workers' councils number 132,000 members, of whom 55 percent are blue-collar workers (including laborer). As for education, approximately 30 percent have a secondary vocational education, 23.4 percent a basic vocational education, and 12.3 percent a higher education. The majority (45.5 percent) are between 30 and 39 years of age, 30.4 percent are 40 to 49, and over 11 percent are under 30.

What does a self-management do? In one sentence: Mainly that which it is legally authorized to do. Thus it concerns itself with: the plan, the division of profits, approval of the profit-and-loss statement, approval or disapproval of awards, evaluation of the managing director and appointment of qualified persons to this position (last year the councils appointed 200 directors, but unfortunately in several cases this was not done on a competitive basis), wages and new wage agreements, investments, and statutes and regulations. As stated in the report, the councils' authority as a consulting or advisory body constituted marginal activity. But as stated in the Supreme Chamber of Control report, presented (26 July 1985) at the last meeting, this term, of the Sejm Commission on Workers' Self-Management, in the large majority of the workers' councils surveyed, the councils dealt with matters of the enterprises' development. They allocated 60 to 80 percent of the profits to the development fund and 10 to 15 percent to social-welfare activities.

"When a self-management was given the right to divide the enterprise's profits it was generally feared that the workforce will think primarily of its own interests and not those of the enterprise. The reality dispersed these fears," said deputy Jozef Barecki, chairman of the Commission for Workers' Self-Management, at the Sejm meeting. "The workforce manages the profits in accordance with the social interests." And in assessing the overall condition of self-management, the deputy said:

"Many workers' self-managements demonstrate complete independence in their activity. They thoroughly study the weaknesses of the enterprises and make good proposals. But there are also those who limit themselves to approving the documents presented to them by the management or agree to solutions on matters which fall under their jurisdiction without actually participating in these solutions." The deputy expressed the opinion that approximately 30 percent of the councils do not use the authority legally vested in them either as a result of their own indifference or because of poor relations with the administration.

The report shows that in some enterprises possibilities relating to the fact that general meetings and workers' councils are recognized as organs of the enterprise are still not being fully exploited. In these enterprises, too, the rights of the self-management organs are most frequently infringed upon.

In reply to a survey addressed to self-managements by Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, the workers' council of one of the Warsaw enterprises expressed a similar viewpoint:

"In the overwhelming majority of cases the social groups and organizations, the administrative apparatus, and even the legal advisors to the enterprises, do not accept the fact that in an enterprise three equal organs exist and function: general meetings of the workers (delegates), the workers' council, and the managing director. They identify the enterprise only with the managing director, and they treat the general meeting and council as a social organization, called "self-management."

For over a year the Institute has conducted studies on the functioning of the law on state enterprises and workforce self-management, hence this survey as well as a 2-day seminar (6 and 7 August 1985) devoted to a discussion of its results. The discussion was conducted by Prof Ludwik Bar. Representatives of self-managements, the managements of interested enterprises and associations, and some ministries, took part. They are connected with a broader subject of study, pertaining to the effect of reform on the shaping of social attitudes. Prof Kazimierz Doktor is in charge of this subject.

But returning to the subject at hand: failure to understand what self-management is, or failure to accept the existence of self-management organs, which are, at the same time, organs of the enterprise, carries with it many negative effects. "The workers' council, as an organ of the enterprise, is ignored in reports and decisions directed to the enterprise," writes one of the councils. Another one reports: "The enterprise receives various directives, recommendations, instructions, circulars and other documents (telephone calls, too), but the council learns about them only by accident (...)."

Ignoring the council as an organ of the enterprise has a bad effect on all of its work. "In accomplishing any of the council's work which has any kind of important influence on the operations of the enterprise, the council encounters various kinds of difficulties. The list of difficulties differs widely, and the vastness of these difficulties depends on how far the actions of the council deviate from the position taken by the management and administration of the enterprise," we read in one of the questionnaires.

One of the councils mentions that it had no influence on the course of negotiations and talks concerning the inclusion of the enterprise's expansion needs in the forthcoming 5-year plan. Another council says that there were cases when the engineering department made decisions on relocating production, which was an infringement on the competence of the self-management. Still another says that contrary to decisions made previously, it was deprived of any kind of influence on the form of the plant newspaper.

The fact that these are not simply the inventions of oversensitive councils appears to be proved by something said by deputy Jerzy Grzybczak at the Sejm's last meeting: "There are cases where a method of accomplished facts is applied to the self-management, cases of failure to respond to substantive charges, cases of failure by the administration to respect partnership in relations with the workforce self-management. Such actions may lead to exacerbation of relations in workplaces and to unnecessary conflicts and disputes."

But there were not many disputable cases. "The belief that using the courts to settle these matters will result in an avalanche of cases was not borne out," the deputy said. "Fifty-two cases were brought to court in 1984."

The report showed that disputes involving the blockage by the director of a workers' council decision dominated. However, in disputes between the enterprise organs and the parent body, the cause of the conflict most often is the suspension or firing of the director. "It is extremely difficult for the courts to examine these cases because these problems go deep into the area of economic decisions and enterprise management (...). That is why the courts endeavor to solve these problems by way of agreements and understandings."

This portrait of self-management, painted in only broad strokes, would not be real if we were to omit reform. "Self-management ideas are implemented within the framework of economic reform," said Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski at a meeting (23 July 1985) with a group of workers' council chairmen. "Reform signifies, and must signify, a radical change in the socioeconomic awareness of workers and entire workforces." This process, he stated, is incomparably more difficult than the preparation of institutional and legal solutions of reform.

The representatives of the councils taking part in the seminar, however, called attention, both in the survey and in the discussion, to the fact that some attitudes on part of the leadership cadre and the workforces, interfere with the implementation of the three S's [self-dependence, self-management, self-financing].

"Habit, stereotypical thinking, the belief of some of the administrative and political cadre that reform is only temporary, the lack of faith by the workforces in the effectiveness and permanence of regulations--all of these are constantly supported by one proposal after another to amend laws, especially those on enterprises and self-management."

According to the recent studies mentioned by deputy Barecki in the Sejm, over 90 percent of the members of management and technical-engineering staffs declare that their relations with the self-management are friendly and that it is indispensable. Nevertheless, there are cases of behavior which indicate exactly the opposite. One of the activists of a self-management at a recent meeting of the council during the course of a discussion on a certain issue referred to the law on self-management and enterprises. A certain director then said the following to him:

--When you pull out these laws of yours, I stop talking.

--Those are not just my laws, the activist said, but yours also, because you, too, are a citizen of People's Poland.

Professor Bar made some rather strong comments on this, reminding that laws are binding on everyone, and no director, official, or minister has a right to ignore them. The Sejm may change them, or repeal them, but only the Sejm can do this, no one else. The professor described the behavior cited above as a return to the worst era of the nobility, as a socialist *liberum veto*.

To end this theme, let me mention another utterance. The principal charge by a director against one of the councils was that "the council clings to provisions of the law."

--A council's actions depend to a large degree on the chairman and the director. If the chairman is able to cooperate and the director is able to appreciate the benefits of a good self-management, then there are no serious conflicts. We have none in our council, said one of the chairmen at the seminar.

On many issues, clashes seem to be inevitable. Self-management entered into an established set of internal relations in an enterprise and is now attempting to also influence what is happening outside the enterprise. It is important for those involved to learn to emerge from these clashes unscathed, and at the time of settlements each of the partners, self-management, the director or the union, be guided by the public interest. And, insofar as any structural or organizational innovations are concerned, by cost-effectiveness.

The problem of organizational structures in the economy kept coming up at all of the meetings. "Workers' councils," we read in the report on reform, "taking advantage of their rights to express agreement on combining and dividing enterprises, actively participated in the initiation, by the parent organs, of work on changes to the existing organizational structure. In most cases, the councils resisted the tendency, which prevailed in these initiatives, to concentrate economic operations in large structures encompassing, as a rule, entire sectors."

This was eloquently illustrated by some of the discussion at the seminar relating to a proposal to completely monopolize into a so-called "socialist electronics cartel." As the council representatives said, some directors of enterprises affiliated in the UNITRA association, came out with this proposal. And presumably they made it on the basis of the lesser-evil-choice principle: the cartel is a counterproposal to the proposal to transform the present voluntary UNITRA association, which is showing excellent production results, into a compulsory association. According to the originators of this concept, the cartel would be made up of enterprises affiliated with the MERA and TELCOM associations, in addition to UNITRA, and several others, comprising in all over 100 enterprises. This is not the place for a discussion on this concept, which at the moment is rather loose, and one of many being discussed in the electronics industry. I mentioned it only because it is a totally different approach to the entire matter. The proposal was dealt with backwards, with the association's council voting on something which can be described as an "ideological draft" of a cartel, a draft not supported either by a definition of goals, or a cost-effectiveness analysis, or a legal basis which would justify the legality of setting up such a cartel. Not only did all of the directors (except one) vote in favor of the proposal, but also most (14 of 27) of the representatives of workers' councils who were members of the association council.

--Maybe this is a good idea, said one of those attending the seminar. Since UNITRA is showing such good production figures, a cartel will make it possible for it expand. Self-management can function in such a large organization also. --Of course it can. But it will only be an advisory body, explained another participant. --And I, for example, in such a situation do not want to be active in self-management, because our director agrees with the opinions of others only when they confirm what he believes. The advisory function of councils will be insufficient to articulate the problems of the enterprises affiliated in the cartel.

Another person remarked as follows: Under this plan, the self-dependence of enterprises and the activities of self-managements will consist of conversations between former directors and former council chairmen.

"(...) Changes in the organization of industry are unavoidable if they occur in conformity with reform. But none of them lead to a restriction on the participation of workforces in management" --the chairman of the Sejm Commission on Self-Management stated in his speech.

I have dealt somewhat extensively on this question because structural matters, it seems, will be part of self-management's daily activities. And there is no reason to gloss over them in painting a portrait of self-management. The strength of self-management depends primarily on the individual and group incentive of workers to participate in management. It is important that this strength not be lessened but increased, making it possible for the councils to operate, in accordance with the law. Representing the council of Torun's TORAL, Jadwiga Roguszevska, at a meeting with General Jaruzelski, said: "We are able to distinguish perfectly whether something seriously depends on us or whether under the guise of a law we can play around and kill time..."

POLAND

FILM 'WITHOUT END' SPURS DEBATE, CONTROVERSY

Director on Film

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Jul 85 pp 1,6

[Interview with Krzysztof Kieslowski by Zdzislaw Pietrasik: "Fairly Enjoyable"; date and place not specified; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] [Question] You decided to let me interview you probably after some persuasion.

[Answer] Yes. This affords me an opportunity to make public my having made the film. I haven't had any other opportunity.

[Question] How come? After all, the film is already being shown in motion picture theatres.

[Answer] To be more exact, in just one theatre.

[Question] Why did you make the film "Without End"? Did you want to say something important through it?

[Answer] Yes, I did.

[Question] What you say through that film is very sad and depressing. The ending of the film leaves no hope.... Do you think that right now is the best time for such works?

[Answer] Everywhere there is so much cheer and optimism, so why can't at least one individual have the right to sadness?

[Question] Where do you see that optimism?

[Answer] When I turn on a television set.

[Question] "Without End" was originally called "Happy End."

[Answer] That title was ironic, but later I concluded that this is a film that doesn't need irony.

[Question] What else was changed in addition to the title?

[Answer] Not much. I can't blame anyone. The film is as I made it.

[Question] At present, viewers have a choice of two Polish films, "Va Banque" and "Without End." I suspect that they'll choose the former.

[Answer] Yes, surely they'll do so.

[Question] I heard the comments of spectators after a showing of "Without End." Anyway, they were young people, perhaps playing truant because it was a matinee show. Anyhow, they said that the film was nothing special, fairly enjoyable.... Do you resent that?

[Answer] No, it's absurd to resent spectators. One can only resent himself, or the situation.

[Question] What situation?

[Answer] A situation in which viewers are tired and no longer interested in talking about whatever is happening around them (this is besides an eternal problem, whether or not art is to serve as a mirror and whether or not people want to view themselves in it). One can resent a situation in which people distrust what is officially published or officially shown on the screen. It may be that I shall fall victim to that distrust, which need not at all be directed against my film.

[Question] A division into those who trust and those who don't would be mere generalization. POLITYKA has a readership of one million; were I to think that they distrust, I would not be doing this interview.... To return to the question of whether people want to view themselves in the mirror of art. They view themselves every day in a mirror, literally, for example, when shaving. Perhaps that's enough for them?

[Answer] That too is possible.

[Question] Sometimes it seems to me that you artists are trapped in a false situation. You believe that you made an incredibly important and courageous film, but later the audience will only shrug its shoulders -- it knows much better. Such is probably the situation.

[Answer] I always knew that truth is wiser than fiction. But what I'm showing in "Without End" is not things that are self-evident.

[Question] Your previous films lacked great feelings, but his one has them. Do you believe that this aspect of our experiences has somehow become magnified nowadays?

[Answer] You certainly are right. In times when it is difficult to find anything authentic, authentic feelings are sought. I too have changed, besides, as something else has become important to me; hence surely the figure of the woman who loves her no longer alive husband.... Another motif of "Without End" is the courtroom motif. Perhaps now following the Torun Trial [the trial of the killers of the Rev Popieluszko] such things are more obvious, but they had been unknown at the time this film was made 2 years ago.

[Question] The chief protagonist of the film is, at least to me, the worker arrested for organizing a strike in his factory after 13 December 1981 [when martial law was imposed]. He is tried before a court and must choose between sticking to his views and getting sentenced or availing himself of legal technicalities suggested to him by his pragmatic lawyer and getting acquitted. In the end, he avails himself of this opportunity, but his acquittal causes him no joy. Do you believe that he had no right to avail himself of this opportunity?

[Answer] I believe that he had that right but, as the lawyer said, whoever decides to live has to endure a lot....

[Question] Do you share this view?

[Answer] Yes, that's my view too. Thank God, we can endure so much, because what would happen if we couldn't?

[Question] It seems to me though that in your heart you support that other lawyer in the film, the one who held no truck with any concession and compromise with the reality.

[Answer] Yes, I do, but consider that he is dead.

[Question] Well then, are we to resent being alive?

[Answer] No, we should rather resent the manner in which live, because that's our own fault too. Americans, for example, can't understand that: they say that you live as you deserve to live.

[Question] And they're right.

[Answer] Probably.

[Question] In the film the lawyer-rationalist declares: "A choice must be made between 'disavowal' and 'avowal'...." The worker in your film could, of course, choose the latter solution, let the trial continue and let himself be imprisoned.

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Is it worthwhile to be a martyr in a situation in which people want to live normally?

[Answer] But at what price do they want to live normally? Are you convinced that men need normalcy at any price? That's dangerous thinking.

[Question] I think that people really prefer to give up many things just because they want a normal life. After all, this is obvious.

[Answer] People who opt for normalcy give up something very important. The feeling of victory is naive.

[Question] I'm not even sure whether they have lost.

[Answer] They have.

[Question] Did you have doubts about continuing to make films?

[Answer] Yes. I could have emigrated, which is not possible for me owing to various considerations, chiefly biological: I'm growing here and fast. I could change my profession, which is difficult for a 40 years old man, although I still am thinking of it. Or, there is a third solution: to do something that seems moderately honest.

[Question] What's honest, and what's not?

[Answer] The adjective 'honest' is used by different individuals and has different meanings. Never has the term 'honesty' been used as often as at present.

[Question] Then whom do you trust?

[Answer] Myself, and a couple of other persons. Fortunately, I've several phone numbers in my notebook, and I even remember a few by rote. Shall I reel them off to you?

[Question] Perhaps I'm familiar with them myself.

[Answer] That's possible.

[Question] Isn't that escapism?

[Answer] No, I'm only trying to lead a double life, so to speak. Like many other people. Perhaps that film is just for them.

[Question] But tell me where is that honesty.

[Answer] In oneself, inwardly. It's a kind of clock inside the organism. For most people this clock is wound correctly.

[Question] Meaning that the alarm will sound at the right moment?

[Answer] Yes. People increasingly often ask questions not of reason but of that clock, which answers: thus far and no farther.... I don't know, perhaps the era of the organism is in store for us.

[Question] The heroine of "Without End" wants to forget, cure herself of her memory. Do you want to forget something?

[Answer] I can't forget. My profession depends on remembering.

[Question] Nowadays some people feel ashamed of having lived 10, 20 or 30 years ago. They accuse the times instead of themselves. Now, in 1985 do you resent anything in yourself in the 1970's?

[Answer] I failed in a couple of things, but that's not my fault.

[Question] In 1976 you were awarded POLITYKA'S "Yeast" prize. What was it for?

[Answer] For, as always, the "thought that became germ to deed." That happened after I made my first few films.

[Question] And what did grow from that "Yeast"?

[Answer] I don't know what you mean.

[Question] For example, that cinema of moral disquiet which you've cofounded.

[Answer] In those times there was a great need to describe the unrepresented world, as Kornhauser and Zagajewski, who belong to my generation, put it. This function was proportionately performed by film, insofar as possible.

[Question] You mentioned your generation. Do you feel you owe something to biography?

[Answer] Surely everyone feels that. A debt toward one's own biography, toward years of childhood and maturation. This precisely is the subject of the film "The Accident."

[Question] "The Accident" has not yet been shown in movie theatres. What's that film about?

[Answer] Why man is what he is.

[Question] And what are you trying to prove?

[Answer] I'm not trying to prove anything. I merely say that, while a young man is provided with basic values for the rest of his life, afterward the course of his life may vary. The hero is 22-23 years old and the action takes place toward the end of the 1970's.

[Question] What "accident" determines his fate?

[Answer] The whole film is in the conditional tense: the hero proceeds on three different paths; the first leads him to a political organization, the second to the Underground and the third to so-called normal life. In each of these reincarnations he remains the same.

[Question] Is he always right?

[Answer] On each path he is as he is in reality; he doesn't cease to be himself.

[Question] Have you ever thought of making new films about the heroes of your old films, for example, "The Amateur"?

[Answer] The title could now be "The Professional."

[Question] What would he be doing now?

[Answer] I haven't written the script. I don't know.

[Question] But what could he be doing?

[Answer] Various things. He might be working in television as Editor Baranski. He might be clandestinely filming interesting events for another sponsor, and he might abandon it all, return to his wife, bring up his children and cultivate his garden.

[Question] You could show that everyone has a reason for what he's doing.

[Answer] To understand doesn't mean to accept. Have you ever been to Japan?

[Question] Unfortunately, no.

[Answer] The Japanese understand perfectly that either they will push each other into the sea or be nice to each other. In our country people aren't nice to each other. There was a time when they used to be nice to each other.

[Question] Probably right after the war?

[Answer] That I don't remember, but I remember the year 1981 [Solidarity period].

[Question] Speaking diplomatically, with exceptions [to that niceness].

[Answer] And what does it mean? That there is good and evil in people and a particular situation releases either in them.

[Question] What is nowadays most important to the artist?

[Answer] Independence.

[Question] Is a society of independent individuals possible at all?

[Answer] This question concerns the boundaries of freedom, but I'm not speaking of freedom. Please note, I'm only speaking of independence. Independence is a prerequisite for creativity and perhaps also for culture in

general. Any correct cultural policy should understand this. The original sin is rejection....

[Question] Will we discuss all the seven sins?

[Answer] If we consider that first one, it will be enough. So far as I'm concerned, cultural policy does not follow the declared principle of social consensus; on the contrary it follows the principle of "who is not with us is against us." Words about openness, dialogue and building bridges remain mere words. A great many dams and barriers are being built instead. That accounts for so many senselessly alienated people. I know many people who wanted to live here but were prompted not to be here. I'm not speaking of their actual place of residence. [i.e., "internal emigration" is meant here].

[Question] Politics and culture have been quarreling for centuries.

[Answer] The aims of politicians and artists aren't convergent. Politics has immediate purposes whereas art attempts to describe and interpret the world. The essence of art is independence -- to which I'm perhaps obsessively reverting -- independence from politics, from partisanship.

[Question] Artists willingly become dependent on something else -- the public.

[Answer] That's the only dependence that can be admitted.

[Question] But in admitting it it has to be said that Poles are such and such, good and evil, great and small....In a word, sometimes unpopular and unpleasant things have to be said. Yet nowadays artists prefer to practice boundless flattery. This also is a kind of self-terror.

[Answer] That couple of phone numbers in a notebook may not suffice for artists. They want to be with someone; they seek out their public and work for it.

[Question] Independence of being among others?

[Answer] An independence which does not at all means being among others leads to troublesome consequences. "Without End" may outrage all the parties in the fundamental dispute being waged in Poland.

[Question] Are you religious?

[Answer] I certainly acknowledge the Ten Commandments to be the fundamental moral system. I even intend to make a cycle of television films on the subject. I'm writing the scripts for that cycle in collaboration with Barrister Krzysztof Piesiewicz, the coauthor of the script of "Without End."

[Question] You want to film "Ten Commandments"? I must admit that I once had a similar idea of writing a series of 10 articles, but I thought it too difficult.

[Answer] It's difficult. Consider that no one and no ideology ever has criticized the Ten Commandments, at least not officially....But at the same time these commandments are being broken day after day, through lies, stealing and killing.

[Question] We've become accustomed to living with sin, haven't we?

[Answer] We've always lived with sin. The purpose of the Ten Commandments is so that we would know what is sin. The problem is whether we accept living with it.

[Question] Let's return to more earthly matters. Do you consider yourself a centrist, so to speak?

[Answer] That's a political term, and I don't deal in politics.

[Question] Not at all?

[Answer] I quickly realized that I'm unfit for politics, first in 1968 and later a couple of times more.

[Question] That's somewhat strange. You're making political films and at the same time claiming that politics is of no interest to you at all.

[Answer] Making political films is one thing and making politics is another. Making politics means having influence on something, but what about film? I don't believe that film exerts any influence on anything.

[Question] Then why at all do you make films?

[Answer] Perhaps in order for someone to go see a movie and think: hell, I'm not alone in the world, there are others who think like me. This perhaps is why films are made.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

Critic Raises Questions

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Marcin Czern... [illegible]: "On the Line of Fracture"]

[Text] The situation and atmosphere that recently arose around a filmmaker and his latest work reminds me of a joke with a beard: "A peasant crone sent her husband to a far-off church and, when he returned, cross-examined him: "What did the priest say from the pulpit?" The rustic answered: "Waal, it was purty. First 'e made a sign of the cross, then said 'Kyrieleyisun,' and then 'e spoke so purty ye can't imagine." "But wot did 'e say?" "Wot's that? I'm telling ye, stupid old hen! First 'Kyrieleyisun' and then 'e spoke so purty."

Following the premiere of Krzysztof Kieslowski's film "Without End" most film critics have been behaving like the rustic in that joke, awash in a flood of

adulation: "Ooh, 'e spoke so purty." But what did he have to say? What did he say through his film, what personal message did he convey to the audiences. As for that, you couldn't extract an answer from any of these critics! Not one of them wants to toy with explicating metaphors that are not at all difficult to unscramble as well as the elementary symbolism dotting the stream of the narrative, the film images and the fate of the protagonists. The critics simply are ordering us to "experience" that film, to submit to its charm....

I could have submitted and "experienced," had not it been for the fact that Krzysztof Kieslowski himself, exploiting the "hints" of the critics, is heating up the atmosphere surrounding "Without End." And he did that with the aid of POLITYKA, to which he granted an interview titled "Fairly Enjoyable." In that interview he sketches his own verbal self-portrait, a portrait that basically looks like a panoramic image of an artist wounded by fate, the situation and "mistakes of cultural policy." Feeling sorry for himself because the film did not meet with as warm a reception as he had expected, he declared: "One could resent himself, or the situation... in which people distrust what is officially published or officially shown on the screen. It may be that they'll fall victim to that distrust which need not at all be directed against my film" (!)

What does this mean? This is a most "creative" demand addressed to the legally operating TOR Film Studios and the state [film] distributing agency OPRF that, in order to increase viewer attendance, they should organize some "clandestine screenings" of the film, because already from the Old Testament it is known that "forbidden fruit tastes best."

I read that interview attentively and think that actually Krzysztof Kieslowski found himself in a situation that is extremely stress-inducing for artists of his stature. His latest "favorite child" seems splendid to him, although it is merely an efficiently made film demonstrating that its creator knows how to avail himself of filmmaking techniques, how to build up a mood and create plausible characters, and is conversant with painting and music....

The film is indeed, as stated, of considerable artistic value. But what of it when viewers judge it--see the quotation in POLITYKA--to be just "fairly enjoyable"? Obviously, to the public this film is neither clear nor convincing, and it does not reflect our times, our feelings and expectations. Or perhaps its creator struck a dissonant chord, a false note? I think yes. "Without End" is a hyperpessimistic film. Kieslowski tells us that [social] consensus [in Poland] is in principle impossible and that any compromise is bought at a price that simply means...disaster. But the society's life at every turn negates this thesis. Sure, Kieslowski is even aware of it but he still sticks to his views. He claims authoritatively in his interview that "People who opt for normalcy give up something important. The feeling of victory is naive."

[In other words,] he proclaims, therefore, let's not be normal! Inspired by this outcry I visualize a world in which everyone listens to Kieslowski. You too, dear readers, try to visualize it! I will only laugh at your notions and mine. And of course do not give up on any eccentricity, any phantasmagoria, in

your imagination! Act totally, be wholly uncompromising, because the entire game is worthless!

Being of a certainty enraptured by the example of a certain "visionary" and "leader," once marked by charisma but now [apparently Walesa], Krzysztof Kieslowski also willingly refers to the example of Japan, where people "understand perfectly that either they'll push each other into the sea or be nice to each other." I'm trying to be nice to Mr. Krzysztof and will not push him into the sea, but it is difficult for me to restrain myself. Because, how can it be: how can one be uncompromising and nice at the same time? Something here does not jibe.... But yes, but yes, then any and every struggle will last--that being his wish--/without end/.

An artist has the right to be torn by contradictions, to interpret the world in his own manner, and to describe and even judge social and political phenomena. He has the right and duty to offer the fruits of his labor. But the greater his talent the greater should be his feeling of responsibility for his works. Kieslowski's talent is an authentic and acknowledged one. No one is impeding his creative rendering in the film medium of the occurrences supplied daily by life. The best proof of this is the film "Without End." Behind the times already when conceived, this is an attempt at dazzling by the originality of its viewpoint and, needless to say -- to say the least, by its ill will toward the ongoing normalization of our societal life. It irritates the healing wounds of our collective and personal life experience, and yet... it is being shown to the public. Its showing demonstrates clearly that, despite the denials and accusations of its director (vide POLITYKA), our cultural policy does pursue the principle of reconciliation and "who is not against us is with us." This is a sagacious policy, as sagacious as the medical truism that wounds, even when deep, heal better when their edges are lacerated. This is painful, to be sure, but it harbors greater hopes for a complete cure.

Weekly Says 'False Picture' Presented

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 28 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Tadeusz Szyma: "'Without End'" under the rubric "Film"]

[Text] This latest film by Krzysztof Kieslowski, produced as far back as a year ago, deals with topics that are not only very contemporary but also highly important, which in itself is an event in our domestic film production of recent years. Its unheralded premiere took place during the slow season, just when the vacation season was beginning, at a time when the public prefers more lighthearted entertainment. Nevertheless, in Krakow, for example, although shown without any publicity and only once for one evening, it caused fairly great interest and led to vehement disputes within circles of friends. I listened to these disputes and took part in them with an interest that was all the greater because a special preview of that film for the press before its premiere had caused mixed feelings in me. Thus, I decided to verify my feelings by seeing that film again. Unfortunately, contrary to its fairly numerous admirers (and even quite a few enthusiasts) my second viewing confirmed my definitely critical response. Thus I regret to admit that,

despite its undoubted merits, I consider "Without End" to be a flawed work, and even a somewhat false one.

That turns out to be most unconvincing in Kieslowski's new film is, surprisingly, not the social but the personal motif. Because "Without End" occurs on two planes. The intimate plane is more emphasized and it provides a framework for depicting scenes of the world of the martial-law era, a world previously completely shunned by Polish cinema. The personal history is a highly eroticized romantic story of the tardy love of a young widow for her husband who had suddenly died of a heart attack. His character, played by Jerzy Radziwillowicz, is that of an independent noblehearted lawyer and it embodies moral and social ideas which serve to link the emotional peripeteia of his wife to the events of the year 1982 and present the inner drama of attitudes toward the Polish reality in the period directly following the imposition of martial law in December [1981]. The social history, as opposed to the personal history, in the film generally lacks visual literalness and any drama and reaches the audience through the mediation of insignificant traces, distant echoes, extremely selective views [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)] [i.e., censored -- translator's note]... but one cannot resist the impression that the "acuteness" of presentation of the love story in the film compensates in a way for the excessively "kidglove" treatment of more general matters, that is, ideological and sociopolitical ones. This makes for a feeling of disproportion, incommensurateness and a grating if not insincere dissonance. The drastic nature and brutality of the erotic scenes on the one hand and the naive realism of depicting "life after life" on the other remain in a ratio that is inversely proportional to all that is shown there outside physiology or outside the sphere of a dubious metaphysics tailored to a simplified schema for reciting the popular book by Moody. The noblehearted Barrister Zyro, whose unexpected death causes, after some time, his widowed wife to feel a passionate longing for him, not only constantly accompanies her on the screen in rather embarrassing attempts to cope with the absence of his physical presence, in the morbid tussle between her need to stay faithful to him and the needs of her lively temperament, but also intervenes in the work of a car engine in order to save his wife from an accident. What is more, from his grave he transmits a visible -- because done with a phosphorescent marker pen -- sign on the legal papers he bequeathes. This is truly intolerable and, were it not for the superbly restrained performance of Grazyna Szapolowska, the excellent camera work of Jacek Petrycki, the expert montage and the fluid narration, it would be simply unviewable. The psychological aspect of this motif also leaves something to be desired, despite the evident care taken in the script to stay within the bounds of verisimilitude. And even if that verisimilitude is retained to some extent, it is concerned with trivia that are not of too much interest (e.g., the lovely widow who so passionately misses her dead husband, offers the disarming justification that once, while working as a guide for ORBIS [travel agency] she had to have some extra income by posing as a nude model). On the other hand, this psychology rubs against an equally not very interesting lack of balance and maturity, which reaches its peak in the suicide scene, in the dark tunnel of the kitchen gas range. .pa Because the heroine of "Without End," being completely unable to cope with life, is perfectly willing to bereave her supposedly beloved little son (to be sure, on leaving him in the good hands of her husband's parents.)

All this is bad ballast for the ambitious and, it must be admitted, intelligently conceived subplot dealing with topical and important social issues which is interwoven into that psychological-erotic and pseudo-metaphysical framework. This second film, as it were, deals with the attempts of a pragmatic old-fashioned lawyer (a great role for Alesander Bardini!) to free from imprisonment an organizer of a December [1981] strike, a young worker (who does not even belong to Solidarity) who was to be defended by Barrister Zyro. This subject is more difficult to write about, but perhaps it might suffice to mention here that the plot and the subplot, interwoven sometimes too ambiguously (in the worse meaning of the term) and not too lucidly, are linked much more by their emotional atmosphere and climate than by the symbolic figure of the dead lawyer. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99; revised, 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 204)]. Here, too, of course, one might dispute with Kieslowski whether the range of possible modes of response to the well-known situation that arose after 13 December 1981, as presented by him, is indeed complete and adequately explored, and whether the not only extremely pessimistic and not so much onesidedly, but it must be admitted at the same time that he did succeed in touching in this plane a sore spot of the reality. Despite all the euphemisms and ellipses, that spot is indeed touched, at moments very movingly and at moments with a surprising authenticity, although the film is not free of false tones and unpleasantly equivocal complications. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99; revised, 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204)] of the young law intern who plays a not too clear role at the side of the old Barrister Labrador who is about to be condemned to retirement (having reached the ripe old age of 70!).

Does "Without End," despite its title, unlock any new prospects? [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99; revised, 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204).] Such prospects appear to be foggily illuminated by the ignis fatuus of the torches flaming on All Saints Day at the Powazki Cemetery, on World War II tombs symbolizing the continuity of the authentic patriotic tradition of Poles. Orphaned by his father (but not yet by his mother) little Jacek is shown running toward that cemetery in order to, under the watch of the living relayers of that tradition -- the parents of Barrister Zyro -- enter and learn the arcana of the mysterious circle of the solidarity and community of compatriots. But that image does not represent the main theme of the film; it is merely shown again in a subsequent scene to symbolize a despairing promise of hope for a viewer struck by a feeling of hopelessness. To be sure, the viewer is familiar with these feelings from his own experience, and he does not necessarily expect of a work of art a facile consolation or an illusory hope, but in choosing, like the protagonists of Kieslowski's film, life despite everything, he also attempts, despite everything, to find in that life a deeper and more lasting meaning than that suggested by the superficial presentation of human relationships in "life after life" with its lack of religious references.

Difficult Period Shown, No Hero Offered

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Zygmunt Wisniewski: "Without End"]

[Text] Sometimes the title of a review of a work of art reflects its idea or the author's attitude toward the merit and artistic content of his work. The film by Krzysztof Kieslowski, "Without End," eludes this approach. This is an ambiguous work, not amenable to traditional techniques of dissection and analysis, and hence also it is difficult to title a review of that film. Let this review, therefore bear the same title as the film, that is, let it be untitled.

Since the story line in this film is not the most important part and serves merely for the presentation of attitudes, its overt and covert meanings (read: "subtexts") can be approached by means of an analysis of the attitudes, actions and responses of the protagonists. And here we encounter a fundamental difficulty: who is the protagonist of this film? The chief protagonist about whom orbit problems and events? Is it the incarcerated worker Dariusz (Artur Barcis), who is to be made accountable for having organized a strike in his workplace during the martial-law era? Is it Urszula Zyro (Grazyna Szapolowska), the wife of the dead lawyer who was to defend the young worker at his trial? Or perhaps it is Antoni Zyro (Jerzy Radziwillowicz), who may be dead but appears in the film at moments important to the plot and the message? The answers to these questions will surely vary. In this writer's opinion the central character embodying the film's idea is Antoni Zyro, who may no longer be among the living but intervenes in their affairs.

The trial is about acquitting Dariusz. He was to be defended by Barrister Zyro. Following Zyro's sudden death, his defense is undertaken by another lawyer, Labrador (Aleksander Bardini). An older and experienced man and a professional at law, he is reluctant to delve into the social, political and psychological motivations of Dariusz's actions. He reduces his role to the basic goal of getting Dariusz freed.

Thus, Barrister Labrador is not the main protagonist. Nor is the worker the main protagonist. On the contrary, Dariusz is merely the object of the action and a touchstone for demonstrating the attitudes of others. But what does he himself think and want? He is no exceptional character. He is an average man, and his role in the strike was accidental. But he is reluctant to admit the fortuitous nature of his role owing to his feeling of solidarity with others as well as owing to his own notion of truth, that truth of the workingman (read: authentic truth), a truth which is apprehended not so much by reasoning as inwardly, a truth that is very imprecisely defined in the film. We will not

find a definition of that truth in the film, and it is very difficult to extract it from under the layers of reticences and evasions.

The most dramatic character, and one who is living through a personal drama and a drama of choice, is the widowed wife of Barrister Zyro, Urszula. She is a lost human being who grapples with the problems of loneliness, of absence of a life partner and a guide on the tortuous paths of present-day reality. She goes to bed with a chance-met foreigner and the dollars she thus earns she gives to Dariusz's family. She attends meetings with people engaging in passive and active conspiracy and tries to have her mind cured by a hypnotist. Is the vagueness of her character purposely created and reproduced by the filmmaker, or does it ensue from shortcomings in the craft of this actress, who is definitely better in romantic roles than in the role of a griefstricken widow? This schism, this failure to accept life, prompts her toward a tragic step at the end of the film.

All this is seen by the absent -- because dead before the action of the film begins -- lawyer Zyro. He appears in the film as a witness and observer of events. In special situations his role becomes active through the mediation of signs given to his wife. Zyro at times intervenes into the behavior of the living. But his main role does not consist therein. Zyro hovers, as it were, above all that we view. This is an explicit metaphor: the idea which had served as a guiding light to him hovers above the film and the lives of certain of the protagonists. What was that idea? We can guess it only indirectly, from the manner in which he had intended to defend the worker Dariusz. And he had intended to do it differently from Labrador -- not by means of legal trickery but by means of truth itself, by pointing to the behavior of people like Dariusz, a behavior that is emotional and not subject to political evaluation.

Such are the premises that can be discerned behind the thought and actions of the protagonists of K. Kieslowski's film, if its characters are analyzed. Do they point to a more general message? Of course yes, because this film is an attempt to reproduce the attitudes of people belonging in the circles which the imposition of martial law had placed in a situation of a new choice and self-definition vis a vis the reality.

The film is the story of a circle of people who dramatically experienced the imposition of martial law. We are familiar with great works whose protagonists are persons tragically entangled in the struggle against a system which seems alien to them but was actually introduced in their own interest. We respond to their dramas without failing to ask from what viewpoint they are narrated. But the drama of Dariusz and Urszula is narrated from a viewpoint which was questioned and suspended by a political decision, namely, the imposition of martial law. Dariusz, whose facial expression on receiving a suspended sentence, that is, an acquittal, is that of a loser is a character lacking consciousness. Urszula, who having lost her life's compass can no longer live, is a tragic figure. These attitudes, modes of response and solutions present a picture of the society and life in this country. It is a life without a future and without hope. It can be arranged by means of the legal tricks of Barrister Labrador, but it cannot be arranged in comfort. No one

rejoices in Dariusz's acquittal. Persons close to Urszula die or depart. For herself all that remains is to turn on the gas in the kitchen range.

A considerable period has elapsed since K. Kieslowski made his film. Perhaps this diagnosis of our society would be less tragic were this filmmaker to make it more recently. But the idea, the message, of the film, which was first screened publicly in June 1985, is to be evaluated. This is a message which does not fit the picture and the direction of the changes occurring in our society.

Columnist, Correspondent: Film is 'Antisocial'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Jan Brodzki: "A Lopsided Perspective"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Excerpts] A reader, Comrade Piotr Wicka of Warsaw, formulates very firmly his standpoint in the letter transmitted to me: "...I believe that films like Krzysztof Kieslowski's 'Without End' should not be shown. This is an antisocial film, if not a politically hostile one.... What is your opinion?"

I am not a film critic and, of course, it would not be right for me to review Krzysztof Kieslowski's film from the artistic viewpoint. Besides, that is not the kind of reflections expected by that reader. But will I instead express my views as a political activist and party member? Yes, I will.

Now, Comrade Piotr Wicka's question can in no way be answered in black or white, so to speak, yes or no.

I do not share that reader's opinion that the film should not be shown publicly.

-- First, I could point to a couple of other films, crime films and sensation-provoking films, whose educational influence on (e.g., young) viewers could elicit much greater reservations. As to why in this case I see no reason for apprehensions, see below.)

-- Second, /it is good to have the possibility of waging open polemics against a work that is ideologically and politically alien to a communist's feelings/. Shelving that film would hinder exchange of thoughts and public opposition to such interpretations as are presented by the filmmaker.

-- There also is a third "pro" argument. I am somewhat hesitant to employ it, because I might be misunderstood, but let me say it: I am "in favor," because I believe that the straight path upon which we are emerging in the cause of a renewal of our life has made us stronger, that the situation is, despite all the problems and difficulties, more stable, and that /indeed, Kieslowski's film will not sway the resistance of our system of society to allusions implicit and explicit and nuances covert and overt/.

So much as far as this part of the question is concerned.

Now for the next question. Is this film in my opinion antisocial and politically hostile? I might answer it thus: to me it is undoubtedly antisocial and undoubtedly politically alien.

In this place I must refer to the "Epistolary Conversations" titled "The Fatherland. Is it a Replaceable Value?" (TRYBUNA LUDU of 17 October 1984).

Epistolary Conversations

At the time I had commented:

"Well then, the building of socialism in Poland 'became a fact' and the need for a resolute defense against attempts to undermine it also 'became a fact' at some moment. If one believes that one will live with socialism only because there is no other solution, few values meeting the needs of the society will be created.... After all, given such a mindset (of creative artists), their works can merely provide a vent for some or other obsessive frustration rather than for constructive attempts at solving actual difficulties, contradictions and anxieties...."

The entire film is one great and monstrous manifestation of such frustrations. elements of social consensus in the presence of an extremely complex social, political and economic situation in this country. No rather, he is in favor of an affirmation of hopelessness. /This affirmation of hopelessness is promoted with a kind of sadistic and masochistic obsessiveness/. What is the sole way out? Suicide. What is the sole reaction of the defendant, a strike leader, to the successful [legal] trick of his lawyer which results in a suspended sentence, that is, in an acquittal? He feels ashamed, and so do those around him, embarrassed because he did not become a martyr. Somehow, this is unfortunately a very Polish characteristic....

No, I apologize, it is not our characteristic. It is rather that of people like Michnik who at one time had to be thrown out by force from their prison cells subsequent to the Amnesty.

A characteristic example of the filmmaker's reasoning: the lawyer meeting an imprisoned protagonist in the prison visiting room proposes to him (of course, symbolically speaking) that he flee through a window. The prisoner answers: "But what about the window bars?" The lawyer answers: "Yes, precisely, you can't jump through socialism either; you have to live in it."

Another characteristic example: The cemetery. The grave of the original defense counsel for the strike leader, who also embodies the message of the film. As can be guessed, that lawyer had close ties to Solidarity. When the dead lawyer's little son comes to the cemetery, what grave does he also want to view and refers to when he says to his mother that, while his father was alive, they both had often come to see it? Heavyhearted crowds, lighted candles, school pennants and, for the duration of a second, [the tomb of] the Man on Horseback [is shown]. Has it come so far that the lines followed by

Solidarity and by the bumbling Marshal now converge ideologically and politically?

/The film "Without End" is a work that is cleverly and insidiously made to appear carrying a message that is not as extreme as it might seem. The film "Without End" is an antisocial work that conflicts with the most vital interests of Poland as a country in which people live together in consensus in order to live, grow and serve the Fatherland and each other. I am deeply convinced that the coming elections will conclusively demolish what is left of Kieslowski's interpretation/.

Possibility for Discussion in Film

Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish No 25, 30 Jun 85 p 20

[Unsigned article: "Purely and Simply" under the rubric "The Movie Fan's Easy Chair"]

[Text] Following a couple of not too successful films, one which was given an exaggerated publicity (R. Wionczek's "Dignity") and the other was of an allusive nature (K. Nowak's "Valley of Happiness"), both dealing with the fevered post-August [Solidarity] period, a new film has appeared on the screens. This new film has every chance for stimulating broader discussion and prompting deeper reflections about our squeaky reality. This concerns "Without End," the new film by Krzysztof Kieslowski. Its setting is in 1982, that is, during the martial law era. A worker, the leader of a strike at his workplace, stands trial. It is not he, however, but the wife of his deceased defending counsel, lawyers, judges, a law intern and Tomek arriving from foreign parts, who are the main protagonists. It is these intellectuals that represent various attitudes and modes of response, and it is above all among them that a struggle among conflicting political, social and moral rationales and views is waged. The worker rejects persuasion to offer effective but false testimony; he receives a suspended sentence, but he cannot feel glad because of it. On the other hand, the wife of the dead defending counsel, who like Providence manifests himself after his death, that lost, vacillating and easily susceptible woman, commits suicide. The tragic finale of the film is all the more reason why its message cannot be ignored. The dramatic fate of human beings shown against the background of the painful events of several years ago simply commands us to rethink our own experiences of those times. What is more, the awareness that the wounds have not yet healed dictates a search for credible ways of achieving social consensus and resolving large- and small-scale conflicts. I believe that Kieslowski's film plays a good role as a stimulus for social dialogue on fundamental issues.

/"Without End." Script: Krzysztof Piesiewicz and K. Kieslowski. Direction: Krzysztof Kieslowski. Camera: Jacek Petrycki. In the main roles: Grazyna Szapolowska, Maria Pakulnis, Aleksander Bardini, Jerzy Radziwillowicz, Artur Barcis, Michal Bajor. Produced by TOR Film Studios, 1984/.

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 31 Jul 85 p 12

[Article by Maciej Chrzanowski: "Without End"]

[Excerpts] "Without End." Directed by Krzysztof Kieslowski.
Script by Krzysztof Kieslowski and Krzysztof Piesiewicz.
TOR Film Studios, 1984.

Initially this was to be a completely different film, a kind of a documentary of political trials in recent years. A great deal of public funds was spent, but that documentary was not produced. The facts did not correspond with the filmmaker's preconceived thesis. The trials did not prove to be stage-managed gory spectacles. No Draconian sentences were imposed; on the contrary, there was a relatively large number of acquittals and suspended sentences. The reality did not meet the expectations of the filmmaker and the documentary could not convey a message warranting the selected theme. Hence a new personal world whose machinery would correspond to the filmmaker's thesis had to be created. The film "Without End," with its treatment of a courtroom trial and its surroundings and atmosphere that now was completely adequate to the views of Krzysztof Kieslowski, was produced.

Contrary to appearances, and to numerous already published interpretations of Kieslowski's picture, this film does not deal primarily with the martial law era and the problems, dilemmas and anxieties of that era. It is as if the reviewers were completely deceived by the external stage props, by simple clues indicating the very specific temporal setting of the plot. Besides, the realities of the martial law era are shown very sparsely, reduced to the bare minimum. That is, besides, the only element in Kieslowski's film in which he did not follow the current schematic interpretations and views and did not aim at emotional impact by means of extremely exploited filmmaking techniques.

"Without End" is not an attempt at recording and interpreting events and episodes of the past. This is a contemporary and highly topical film offering a tentative program of action for the mid-1980's, a program that can be reduced to one word: 'survive.'

One has to be ready for the rise of unfavorable circumstances. Here too Kieslowski calls into action the entire repertoire of slogans with which the opposition is accustomed to operate. Thus, primarily, the dialogue in "Without End" mentions the need to retain "inner independence," the spirit of resistance, dignity and pre-December [pre-martial law] contacts. Direct action, even of the most spectacular kind, does not at present assure success and entails too high a personal cost. This is how I interpret the message of "Without End," and this is the political meaning of the film.

It would be illusory to believe that Kieslowski's film can convince anyone, that it is strongly persuasive in any way. Yet, persuasive values should be expected from any tendentious work intended to exercise direct agitation and influence. Kieslowski has made his thesis sufficiently clear, so that there can be no mention of any objectivity in his film, any pro and contra aspects,

any internal dialectics, any equal division of emphasis and sympathies. In order to polemicize with the program for "survival" (not to mention madness and suicide as viable alternatives for the present) it would be necessary to refer to fundamental national interests and similar generalities. To avoid repeating these obvious arguments, I withdraw from discussion. The opinion of the null persuasive power of "Without End" is sufficiently corroborated by the internal characteristics of the film themselves.

Kieslowski picked protagonists lacking any intellectual rationale as the mouthpieces for his opinions. These characters also were not afforded any major opportunity for influencing emotions. The so-called opposition as depicted in Kieslowski's film consists of boundlessly complacent, incredibly nice people who practically constitute a mutual adulation society and live at loose ends and whose broader horizons are limited to the next 12 hours or so.

The unintended effect of such treatment is that the film resembles a political pamphlet, precludes any tension in dialogue and makes it impossible to compare the reasons motivating both sides in the conflict. The more so considering that the sole representative of the groups accepting the post-December solution utters only one word in the film: "Goodbye." He of course wears a leather coat, holds a kind of sachet in his hand and drinks tea with his little finger daintily extended. Thus, one had to lose to such primitive adversaries. Is that good testimony to the other side of the conflict? A large number of other such oversimplified solutions in "Without End" could be enumerated.

This is a one-dimensional black-and-white picture resembling uncannily the extremely simplified schemas of surrealist films. Kieslowski tried to obscure its structural banality and the incoherence of its narrative....

"Without End" is a primitive film cognitively speaking that verges at intellectual paranoia. This concerns both its political aspects and the personal choices made by its protagonists, including the final scene. Kieslowski produced a film that is equally bad from the artistic viewpoint and marked by absence of the power to move and by a bad plot. This is a very tedious film which cannot be saved by the well-known actors who star in it.... "Without End" lacks any cinematic value whatsoever. It thus is a picture condemned in advance to be a failure with the audiences; it lies beyond the real interests of the moviegoing public. Krzysztof Kieslowski's picture moreover is not addressed to any particular audience. The general public is not the right audience for it, either. The intellectual vacuity of this motion picture certainly cannot either attract to it viewers to whom the cinema is not entertainment but a means of understanding reality. It cannot satisfy the representatives of any social force. This is not in the least any proof of an "inner independence of the artist."

"Without End" and "Dignity" are films with extremely differing messages and tendencies. They are pictures which do not excite the public. Is that a sign of the times? An enfeeblement of emotions? A sign of different expectations of the moviegoing public? (Recall the success of such films as "Sexmission" and "Va Banque.") In Kieslowski's case this may also be the reluctance of the

mature public in face of an infantile work that moreover lacks the charm of a fairy tale.

Director 'Sincere' But Film Unrealistic

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish 7 Jul 85 p 15

[Article by Jerzy Peltz: "Zyro or Labrador?" under the rubric "On the Big Screen"]

[Text] Few works dealing with issues of painful concern to Poles have appeared on the cinematic landscape in the last few years. And yet, such a highly contemporary depiction of the social awareness, however imperfect it may look to audiences and critics, is needed by our cinema more than historical and wartime topics or even comedies of manners. We are speaking of serious cinema, of a film dealing with contemporary issues that is intended for thinking and demanding audiences, because making such films is a fundamental requirement of cultural policy.

How difficult it is, though, to touch upon these burning issues, how hard it is to devise a plot and an artistic treatment for the rapidly changing contours of our reality and preserve a proper -- not too emotional but not excessively calculated either -- perspective on events that took place barely several years ago. Only those artists who took this risk are aware of this. And few have been so courageous. Previously only Roman Wionczek dared to offer in his "Dignity" a realistic and nearly literal vision of the events of the fall of 1981, directing a political cinema without covert nuances. His protagonists serve as mouthpieces for particular modes of response and rationales clashing in an acute struggle. Now this publicistic view has been complemented by Krzysztof Kieslowski's film "Without End," based on a script he coauthored with Krzysztof Piesiewicz. Let us say it at once: this film was made from a different standpoint and is full of varied allusions and reticences. Thereby it appeals more broadly to what have been, after all, varied experiences of the audiences. It calls, as it were, for a thoughtful participation in its perceptual process.

But what was to be the strength, particularly in the aesthetic sense, of Kieslowski's film is also its great weakness.... The authors of "Without End" decided moreover to add to their work a metaphysical element by giving considerable prominence to the spirit of Barrister Zyro, which the day after his funeral (he died of a heart attack) appears in his apartment and introduces us to the action....

The matter is different with the social motif, or rather a political one, which is an attempt to plumb the Polish soul in the difficult year 1982 and indicate the extent of the divisions then evolving. As the film appears to indicate, these divisions are constantly evolving in the direction of some tranquilization of the public mood but also, at the same time, of apathy, discouragement, resignation. Let us add at once that the picture outlined in "Without End" cannot of course pretend to offer a broader diagnosis, because it concerns a narrow and rather atypical segment of the reality and moves within a relatively narrow cross-section of the society. The principal

character, which may be the director's alter ego and reflects his views after a fashion, is Barrister Labrador..., who, following the death of Barrister Zyro, takes over the defense of a worker accused of violating the law. He alone represents common sense and a pragmatic attitude, aiming pragmatically to achieve a quick acquittal of the defendant, which meets with resistance from others (including Labrador's law-intern assistant) particularly from the worker and his wife. Full of emotions that have not yet cooled, they would like to transform the trial into a political demonstration, and the defendant himself would like to become a martyr for the Cause -- a cause in which he became accidentally involved. This is very Polish and astutely reproduced.

The director's intentions can in no way be questioned -- they certainly were honest. But his indecisiveness and inner vacillation as to what direction should the plot take and where emphasis should be placed are clearly perceivable. Thus, after it turns out in the beautifully filmed courtroom sequence that, despite everything, we are tending toward normalcy in our society and this has to be accepted, the viewer is shown toward the film's end the essentially nonsensical death of Urszula Zyro and a return to the climate of the national All Saints Day with which the film began. This emphasis on a note of gloom at any price and for no particular reason produces an effect that is the opposite of the intended one.

I saw the film "Without End" in the Sawa Cinema in Warsaw, which was barely one-third full, on the second day of its screening. There were neither crowds nor queues in front of the box office, nor was there any atmosphere of a scandal. Is that too a sign that we are becoming more normal?

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CSO: 2600/1016

POLAND

ARCHITECT, SEJM CANDIDATE FAVORS COMPETITION IN CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Aug 85 p 3

[Interview with Janusz Wyznikiewicz, architect and Sejm candidate, by Jan Brzozka, DZIENNIK LODZKI, 28 August]

[Excerpt] Jan Brzozka: The bad decisions have piled up and we now have to deal with the effects of these mistakes. It is not a matter of the 1980's, or even the lack of steel or cement. It is primarily the fact that all of the facilities that contribute to the construction industry, construction as a whole, have, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist. A classic example of this, although not the only one, are the cement factories.

What has happened in the construction industry has been in no small degree caused by poor organizational decisions, mainly the principles by which the industry is financed. The principles now in effect are responsible for the fact that enterprises are not at all interested in building efficiently and rapidly. On the contrary. One gets the impression at times that all of the intellectual potential is expended in justifying delays.

Throughout the entire world, an enterprise which undertakes a construction job receives a loan from the bank on which it pays interest. And it must build rapidly or else it goes bankrupt.

The monopoly which exists in the cooperatives, those large, indolent firms, must be broken. There is only one thing for sure about them: that nothing will be done in those firms in which a customer is not a customer but a petitioner.

We must make it possible for new, small cooperatives and companies to form, and who knows what else. We must take advantage of every opportunity to build. Competition can only do good in this entire matter.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

POPE SEEKS AGREEMENTS IMPLEMENTATION--The date of September 1 reminds us of the outbreak of World War II, which started with an attack on Poland. The war cost Poland millions of lives and considerable loss. The hardships of war were withstood on all fronts and sacrifices were made to ensure Poland's independence and the people's genuine right of self-determination within their own state. The social agreements of August 31, 1980, quite rightly recalled at this time, also pertain to the problems of self-determination and autonomy. The good of our homeland requires that these agreements should be implemented honestly and continually, and that they should not fall into oblivion. Common good can only materialize when the human and civil rights of all Poles are respected, when working people feel genuinely in charge of their own workplaces, where they not only receive orders from others, but themselves, together with others, share in the right to lay the foundations of their homeland. This holds both for workers and for artists + scientists. Unless all human rights are respected, the common good suffers an irreparable loss. May God protect Poland from this. In 1983, during my second pilgrimage to my Homeland, I talked a lot on this subject, and today I return to this issue, continuing to pray together with my fellow-Poles for the victory of truth, freedom, justice and mutual love in my Homeland. Castel Gandolfo, September 1, 1985. [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK TOWSZECHNY in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 85 p 1]

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